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East Europe Report

SPECIAL NOTICE INSIDE



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EAST EUROPE REPORT

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ECONOMY

BULGARIA

MACHINE-BUILDING INDUSTRY ACHIEVEMENTS, FAILURES, COOPERATION

Production Problems at Truck Plant

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 3 Feb 87 pp 1, 3

[Article by RABOTNICHESKO DELO Correspondent Maksim Bekhar: "Attention: A Delicate Question"]

[Text] "This, everyone with whom I spoke on this question attempted to persuade me in a profoundly philosophical and even diplomatic manner, "must be written about very carefully...."

The million leva of the Madara Truck Combine, one might assume, were not surplus, when the management decided to purchase with this sum an automatic production facility to produce one of the most important parts of the forward and rear drive axles, the pinion gear for the final reduction unit. In essence this is a gear and ten similar parts which are used to produce every axle. A total of over 250,000 a year along with those produced for spare parts. In other words, a part that is important, exceptionally important. And in spite of this, up to now it is produced by "muscle power." Because the completely new automatic production line 585-018 which was installed 8 months ago and produced by the Pobeda Metal Cutting Machine Combine in Sliven has scarcely reached one-quarter of its set capacity.

The story of this dispute has been documented in a rather bulging file kept by the head of the Technical Service of the Gears and Shaft Production Department, Engr Vasil Kovachev. But among the scores of telexes, minutes, explanatory notes and whatever, in essence the main thing which has made this question truly delicate has not emerged in the forefront.

The Electronics of Wheels

It is quite correct that the four units of which only one is now properly working, are the product of the Sliven Metal Cutting Machine Combine. With a few minor exceptions, there is no complaint on the mechanics of the complex machine nor about the manipulators produced by the Beroe Combine in Stara Zagora. The "Achilles heel" this time is in the electronic equipment.

An essential qualification! This comes from Engr Stiliyan Khristov, the deputy director for production questions at the Madara Truck Combine: "We are aware that any production involving subcontractors will have its difficulties, but the situation has already become truly intolerable. Several times specialists from the Sliven plant have come here, they have taken circuit boards, sent them to Sofia, they are sent back and still don't work...when will they? I am already confident that if in January the automatic modules do not begin operating, the fulfillment of the plan is in serious jeopardy."

It is scarcely necessary, however it must be made clear that the part "pinion gear for the final reduction unit" is designed for one of the largest, unique subcontracting arrangements within CEMA.

Six-Figure Negligence

At present, in essence there is a temporary solution. A portion of the output of the parts has been transferred to machines which, however, after just a month or two must begin working on the next "bottleneck" in the assembly of the axles for the Madara-LIAZ vehicles, the entire manufacturing of the base gear. But time is moving rapidly and one way or another it is essential to escape from the vicious circle. And the best, certainly, is by fulfilling the contractual obligation not only to stockpile the "plate" in the combine's yard but also to begin operating the equipment at a certain time. But this will scarcely return the 860,000 leva which the People's Control Commission under the Gears and Shaft Production Department has calculated at the net loss for our national economy just over the first 6 months after the installation of the equipment.

At times, necessity has forced the operators to temporarily eliminate the automatic manipulators and to cut the pieces by hand since it has been calculated that time can be saved essential for producing such scarce parts. Here just a year ago, when the pinion was produced on comparatively much more amortized equipment, the reject figure was incomparably less. At present, the inspection of this exceptionally precision part is made with the aid of...an ordinary caliper, that is, by hand. The reason is that, in spite of the signed contract, even in delivering the machines they did not provide a device for active control which would warn of an eventual defect even in the manufacturing process. Hence it is not astonishing to hear from the brigade leader of the Gear Section, Dimitur Angelov, "we have never been in such a situation. We produce parts with unbelievable combinations between the machines while the new and expensive machines stand silent and the people leave...."

But all these matters are in no way delicate. They require a quick and immediate solution. And an even more rapid discovery of the guilty parties of the six-figure losses. At least because in the economy and particularly in contractual matters, there are no delicate questions and there cannot be.

Contribution of Central Institute

Sofia VECHERNI NOVINI in Bulgarian 2 Feb 87 pp 1, 2

[Article by Bogdan Kolev and Simeon Danevski: "Cooperation Which Enriches"]

[Text] There are facts which require no commentary. When they are so strong and incontrovertible that proof and explanation are superfluous. Incidentally, such an irrefutable fact is the role of the Central Scientific Research Institute in Sofia for developing plants producing metal cutting machines scattered approximately through the entire nation. Because if at present we can assert that cur metal cutting machines are truly on a very good world level, when we can measure our forces and capabilities with the most advanced states in this area, and when we say that we are in 19th place in the world among the nations producing 99 percent of the machine building product for export, this is largely due to this institute. And to its outstanding specialists a large portion of which have been working in the drafting rooms, experimental plants and shops since the day of its founding (and this was 25 years ago).

The concept of "Soviet for Bulgaria, Bulgaria for Sofia" voiced by Comrade Todor Zhivkov has at present been analyzed in detail by the institute. Not only has this been analyzed and translated into its own language, but on the basis of their own experience which puts them in a comparatively better position, they are seeking out and determining the most effective ways and forms for its complete manifestation.

This will come about, as was stated by the institute Deputy Director, Engr Aleksandur Tsurvenkov, in skillfully combining the experience of all generations of personnel and without fail all new, nonstandard thinking, of rapid responses and actions for ensuring real scientific and technical progress in all areas. Moreover, the decisions and actions of this institute are projected with a plus or minus sign in the work of many plants throughout the nation.

But in balance, the pluses are substantially more and these determine the importance of the Central Scientific Research Institute for Metal Cutting Machines.

The institute director, Engr Lyubomir Moynov, at the start of our talk voiced an interesting notion:

"It is hard for me to precisely determine our contribution to the development of the metal cutting machine plants in the nation and generally to the development of our machine building. But I am absolutely certain of one thing and that is that we have never felt ourselves to be the 'feudal lords' about which Comrade Todor Zhivkov spoke. It has always been our desire to be closer to our plants and to help them, if this is within our capability for solving one or another problem. With our help, the Robotics Combine has become established in Stara Zagora and the seven affiliates of the institute which have been set up throughout the nation eloquently show our broad contacts with practice."

Those seven affiliates which were mentioned by Engr Moynov in essence provide truly the most vivid notion of how the specialists in the institute have aided the development of metal cutting machine production. These have been set up in Pazardzhik, Sliven, Asenovgrad, Plovdiv, Mikhaylovgrad, Silistra and Troyan. As one can see, geographically they encompass a broad region of the nation and two of them have not even been opened in okrug cities. The affiliates operate on their own internal cost accounting. The incentive system is exactly the same as at the Sofia mother institute. And it is well understood that there should be no difference between the main institute and the affiliates if a true economic effect is sought from the work. Certainly the demends are exactly the same as for the Sofia institut.

"Each affiliate works on a given question and according to this the demands are made," said Engr L. Moynov. "The 1987 plan is difficult and is full of very responsible tasks. At present, for example, a large portion of the specialists at the affiliates are working on the development of modern metal cutting machines, the flexible automated production systems, modules and so forth. But, certainly, many difficulties have been encountered and they involve primarily the recruitment of personnel and their development as experienced specialists. In this regard our specialists are confronted with new, responsible tasks.

Accordingly the following few examples show how the institute has helped in developing new machines and after this successfully introduced them in the nation's plants.

- a) The Pazardzhik Metal Cutting Machine Plant introduced the institute development for producing horizontal and vertical centers from modifications of the SMO40 and RV501 which for years running had been produced at the plant and successfully exported to many countries.
- b) The well known family of Perun industrial manipulators was also developed at the capital institute and successfully produced at the Beroe Combine in Stara Zagora. With these manipulators we have begun developing robotization for the needs of our country and for export to the USSR and all the socialist countries.
- c) The well known lathes with numerical program control have been submitted for manufacture at the Pobeda plant and the Metal Cutting Machine Plant in Sliven.
- d) Very close contacts presently exist with the Velingrad plant producing spindles for metal cutting machines. In this production there are many bottlenecks and for solving them we will employ the experience of the Moscow Krasnyy Proletariy Plant.

These examples are sufficient to illustrate the good professional ties of the institute with a number of the nation's plants and not only from the system of the Automation of Production Processes Economic Trust. This task in essence leads from the present to the future. Because the realization of the great goals cannot be done successfully without the energetic intervention of

specialists from the Central Scientific Research Institute for Metal Cutting Machines. The successful introduction of foreign experience and its adaptation to the specific conditions of our plants could not be carried out without the support of the institute specialists. And the more specific this help is the greater the effect will be.

"The present scale and geographic coordinates within the nation and over which the work of the institute spreads require a change in the pace of the work," said the institute party secretary Rusi Rusev. "We are fully aware of the need for complete unification of the forces and of directing the thoughts of the innovators at the most progressive and promising. And these are the tasks which we must carry out if we wish to be in step with the high demands of the times in which we live."

At this institute, in its daily life, without exaggeration it can be said that the role of the human factor is starkly apparent.

For this reason the leadership and the party organization have made a systematic effort to solve the personnel problem, the hiring and training of staff. Even a cursory familiarization with the climate in which the diverse scientific research and designing of new modern metal cutting machines are carried out provides reason to believe that its collective has found the correct path to raise the role of the human factor. A creative situation ensures the discovery of all talent and helps the younger persons more quickly join in the general work and make a contribution to the general flow of design thought and realization. At the same time, it is imperative to systematically fill out the collective with young, dependable specialists who want and can create.

In order to carry out the ideas fully, it is also imperative to resolve certain questions and outside of the order in which they have been discussed up to now. There must be intervention on the part of the leading central institutions and organizations in order not to break the flow of exchange and transfer of new design and production ideas.

It is essential to review and without delay activate a system for encouraging creative search. The questions of the physical plant and its equipping with modern facilities must be resolved at a different pace. The rate of qualitative new growth which the institute must provide should be backed up with the same if not more rapid growth in the construction of a number of projects involved in solving the main production and design tasks. It is essential to have standards for regulating relations with the affiliates and plants which use the developments and experience as well as the capabilities of the institute's scientific potential, in assessing the contribution of not only the end product developed by the collective of one or another plant but also the institute. Then there will be a complete reconciliation of personal end social interests and this will be a good basis for the strong expression of the idea of "Sofia for the nation and the nation for Sofia."

Progress at Krasnyy Proletariy Plant

Sofia VECHERNI MOVINI in Bulgarian 3 Feb 87 pp 1, 3

[Article by Mincho Tunev: "Toward the Heights of Technical Progress"]

[Text] With its 130-year labor biography, the Krasnyy Proletariy Plant is one of the veterans of Russian and Soviet machine building. But in this instance the concept of "veteran" in no way means "old." At present, this world-renowned machine building enterprise is in the vanguard of scientific and technical progress and it is among the largest representatives of Moscow industry. The main merits of the lathes produced here are high quality, operating reliability, convenient maintenance and high productivity. In addition to its products, in recent years Krasnyy Proletariy has become widely known among the Bulgarian public due to its direct partnership with the Stara Zagora Beroe enterprise. Due to this qualitatively new form of socialist integration, the association has been able to rise to the heights of scientific and technical progress in world production of metal cutting machines with numerical program control, automated modules and lines as well as industrial robots.

Recently I was able to visit the plant and talk with the party committee secretary Sergey Avtomonov quite naturally on the subject of the reorganization which presently encompasses all aspects of life in the Soviet land.

"One of the main elements of the reorganization is personal responsibility. It is clear that in order to achieve the desired acceleration, the reorganization must assume a nationwide character. But personal participation in this major undertaking? Lathes are our specific product. For this reason the first stage is the scientific and technical revolution. And presently, along with the Beroe workers, we are following precisely this path. In continuing our line of argument, I would like to recall that the scientific and technical revolution can be carried out only by man, the designer, the production engineer, the executor.... For this reason, the prime task of our party organization in the process of the reorganization is to make averyone feel that there is a particle of his personal labor in the new equipment.

"In carrying out the technical reequipping of our plant, we have sealously guarded the personnel. The young people quickly master the new equipment, but the older workers find it heavier going and some simply cannot switch to new machines. And precisely here was the place of the party organization so that in the process of the technical reequipping each person would find his place. This chain runs through everything: by purty influence, by careful talks and an individual approach. Because the most important in this at first glance production process is not to lose man. The place of the old universal lathes has been taken by machines with numerical program control. And the old workers had to be sent to production cycles that were customary for them. Here, without being aggrieved but rather feeling that their labor is also essential under the new conditions. Our party bureau invited each worker in for a discussion to find out what work he could perform and what we could offer him....

"By common efforts we reached acceptable solutions. In introducing the flexible automated production system (GAPS) we collected people from the shops and sent them to assembly. When the GAPS went into operation and was gaining force, the fellows were already skilled. Certain purely economic problems were also overcome as the departure from the shop to assembly led to a reduction in wages. But those who initially found it hard going in the new jobs no longer want to go back.

"The party committee at the Krasnyy Proletariy plant in the process of the technical reequipping has been able to involve each person in testing the production chain. The production methods outlined by specialists did not always work in practice. And here collective creativity came to the fore with each worker participating in the check and provided rational proposals to increase effectiveness. A new lathe, a new production method, a new attitude — all of this is tied to the human factor. At present, Krasnyy Proletariy has increased its production volume by 10-fold without hiring new people. This is truly valuable experience."

And what did Mikhaylovich Avtomonov think about the ties with the Beroe plant?

"We have uniform plans and a single administration for resolving operating questions and this is good but not sufficient because it is only today. Our goal is to develop machines which meet the highest requirements. At present we must think of 'merging' the two collectives. Here many of the responsibilities will fall on our party organizations. In several days I am leaving for Stara Zagora and we will have to solve many new questions. So that our collaboration acquires a truly new quality."

[Factual Information]

According to the approved plan (up to 1990) the collectives of Beroe and Krasnyy Proletariy will jointly manufacture over 5,000 lathes with numerical program control of which 4,000 will be equipped with devices for changing pieces and tools, in other words, they will enter the market as flexible production modules. Over 2,800 industrial robots and around 2,000 special manipulators will be produced. In addition, within subcontracting arrangements, control systems, electric cables and other preassembled articles will be manufactured.

Scientific research and design work has been planned. They anticipate joint designing of the flexible manufacturing systems and new lathes, grinding and woodworking centers, laser lathes and so forth will be developed.

In 1986, Bulgaria received 100 lathes from Krasnyy Proletariy (16K20F312) which will be built into the flexible production modules of Beroe and 200 M20 portal robots. From Bulgaria Krasnyy Proletariy received 600 RB242 robots and parts for the M20 portal robots. During the year a joint design collective was set up and this has the task of developing standardized robots. In the near future, two other international production design sections will be established. One will be concerned with the designing of robots and equipment for the flexible production modules and the other will develop program control systems.

10272 CSO: 2200/56 POSITIVE '86 ECONOMIC SCENE CLOUDED BY TRADE, CHEMICAL SECTOR

Bonn IWE WIRTSCHAFTSDIENST in German Vol 28 No 4, 26 Jan 87 pp 1-2

[Article: "Blemish in the GDR Economic Balance"]

[Text] Chemical Industry and Foreign Trade Cloud a Generally Positive Picture

The generally positive picture of the 1986 annual balance of the national economy of the GDR published by the Central Administration for Statistics in East Berlin--the planned 4.4 percent rise in produced national income was missed by only 0.1 percent -- is being clouded by several blemishes. In the industrial sector, the chemical industry is the "stray." Instead of the planned 9.3 percent, it increased its net production by only 4.8 percent. With 5.5 percent, the increase in labor productivity on the basis of net production remained well behind the planned figure of 8.5 percent. The reduction of prime costs by 0.3 percent in the chemical industry is also substantially behind the average of 1.7 percent for industry as a whole. Meanwhile, the planned cost reduction was 2.2 percent. The statistical administration provides no data on the industrial commodity production of the chemical industry (an increase of 3.9 percent was planned). That also applies for all industrial sectors. Western experts attribute the weakness of the chemical industry of the GDR primarily to the fall in prices in the international oil markets. GDR petroleum products that are predominantly produced from relatively expensive Soviet raw materials and that play an important role in internal German trade could either not be sold at all or had to be sold at a loss.

This also has to do with the obviously unsatisfactory development of the foreign trade of the GDR. The report of the statistical office notes merely that in trade with nonsocialist countries there was a positive balance with a surplus of 1.5 billion marks in foreign exchange (after a profit of 4.2 billion marks in foreign exchange in 1985). For trade with the socialist countries and for foreign trade as a whole, there are no data on the trade balance, which hardly permits one to assume a favorable development. According to the report, the foreign trade turnover with the socialist countries increased by 3 percent to 123 billion marks in foreign exchange, including 71 billion with the Soviet Union. The fact that the share of social foreign trade has risen to over two-thirds indicates stagnation in trade with the West. In internal German trade, which the GDR includes in foreign trade,

the GDR's debit balance increased from DM267 million to DM603 million, according to the Federal Statistical Office. Shipments of the FRG declined by 11 percent and imports by 6 percent.

Otherwise, a large part of the report of the Central Administration for Statistics is dedicated exclusively to the announcement of successes. Noteworthy is the development in investments. There were 70 billion marks in realized investments compared with the planned 63.1 billion. According to the statistical administration, that is 5 percent more than in the year before. To be sure, here one must consider the current price increases for industrial goods. As early as 1985, if one avails himself of the Statistical Yearbook of the GDR, investment costs were 22 percent higher than those of 1980.

More than half of the national economic investment volume was employed to raise the capacity and efficiency of industry. The share of rationalization investments increased further in this area. The enterprises of the processing industry employed 77 percent of their investments for the rationalization and modernization of the existing fixed assets. A component of the investments is the widespread use of industrial robots, CAD/CAM work stations, and increasingly production technologies as well.

The report also registers a positive trend with respect to the renovation of the product assortment of GDR industry. With an increase of 108.5 billion marks in the production volume of newly developed products in the area of industrial ministries, it claims that a production renewal rate of 29 percent was achieved. The planned renewal rate was 28 percent. As for the permanent problem of the GDR industry, product quality, it states merely that the quality level of industrial production was improved.

Records are reported in agriculture. In the case of grain, a hectare yield of 46.4 quintals was achieved for the first time and, with a total of 11.7 million tons, the previous record result of the previous year was exceeded. The plan for state availabilities of animal products was exceeded by 50,000 tons of meat animals, 533,000 tons of milk, 55 million eggs and 500 tons of wool.

The working people are also participating in the economic success of the GDR. The net money income of the population increased by 4.5 percent, more rapidly than produced national income. The retail trade turnover increased by 4.1 percent to 117.8 billion marks. In both cases, 4 percent was planned. In the case of the retail trade turnover, on must take into account the price increases for goods in high demand, so that the real increase may be considerably lower. The increase in sales was 6 percent for industrial goods and 2.7 percent for foodstuffs, beverages and tobacco.

9746 CSO: 2300/244

BRIEFS

ECONOMIC RELATIONS WITH SPAIN-The GDR has advocated a close cooperation between Spain and the socialist countries. The East Berlin Institute for International Politics and Economy (IPW) announced in its house organ that thus far the opportunities for cooperation between Spain and the socialist countries were "by no means fully used in the economic and the scientific-technical sectors." The Institute envisions "copious opportunities" for a future cooperation between Spain and the socialist countries. The GDR itself concluded a number of accords with Spain in the 1980's, including one on economic and industrial cooperation (1983), one on scientific and technical cooperation (1984), and one in the field of health (1986). The GDR's import/export business with Spain reached a record in 1985 with approximately VM 400 million (1984: VM 165 million). In spite of that, the business was not even half as large as that with Italy (1985: VM 970 million). The East Berlin Institute pointed out in its house organ that Spain's importance in the international arena had "significantly increased" in the last decade. It recognized that the Spanish government was conducting a realistic foreign policy which, however, was not without contradictions and inconsistencies. [Text] [Bonn IWE WIRTSCHAFTSDIENST in German Vol 28 No 5, 2 Feb 87 p 2] 5885

INDUSTRIAL ENERGY CONSERVATION-Disciplinary action and economic sanced threaten the exceeding of contingents. The GDR still does not have energy available, even though in the last few days the situation rel what. As local press reports indicate, enterprises were advised to save another 5 percent of energy above and beyond their contingents, so scarce anyhow. To keep them from exceeding their contingents, the Workers and Farmers' Inspectorate (ABI) keeps monitoring energy consumption in the enterprises on a continuing basis. Thousands of ABI controllers conducted controls in many enterprises in the last couple of days. In Dresden Bezirk, e.g., in 30 of the 250 enterprises tested violations of regulations and instructions were found, especially overheated rooms. In those cases the ABI brought disciplinary suits against the ones responsible and announced economic sanctions. As this complicated situation continued, in some enterprises energy-intensive projects were shifted to nights or weekends. The coal and energy industry and other high priority sectors of the economy continue to be assisted by a large number of helpers. According to GDR communal reports, street lighting has been reduced to the "absolutely necessary measure." Some places are completely dark. Some households got leaflets telling them to save energy. Even the communist FDJ had to buckle under the energy shortage: The kreis delegates conferences of the GDR youth association, summoned for late January, had to be postponed to late February "because of the weather and the related economic tasks." [Text] [Bonn IWE WIRTSCHAFTSDIENST in German Vol 28 No 5, 2 Feb 87 pp 2-3] 5885 EXTENSION OF RENTAL SERVICES—More rental services are to be set up or expanded in GDR communes. From them GDR citizens may rent for a small fee wrist watches and irons, razors and alarm clocks, school satchels and vacuum cleaners, and many other consumer commodities. Because of the long waiting periods for repairs and the ever recurrent supply gaps, tens of thousands already resort to such services. The Ministry for District Managed Industry has announced that the rental services would be "systematically developed in all bezirks to satisfy existing needs." In the service combine in Karl-Marx-Stadt, where in 1986 circa 38,000 customers resorted to this service, trucks and camping trailers for automobiles will be available for rentals in the future. Dresden is adding photo equipment to its rental services, Leipzig, among other things, tents and rubber dinghies. The Gera service combine is going to offer furniture, table ware, and linens for rental. [Text] [Bonn IWE WIRTSCHAFTSDIENST in German Vol 28 No 5, 2 Feb 87 p 4] 5885

HIGH GOALS FOR LEIPZIG UNIVERSITY-Leipzig University, as announced by its rector, Prof Lothar Rathmann, will become the "world peak" in science. During a discussion he announced the formation of "performance centers." He referred in this context to science schools, structural units consisting of several sections, interdisciplinary collectives that temporarily work on one and the same project, and the interdisciplinary seminar that was founded last year, in which top talents of the new generation of scientists are trained. Rathmann pleaded for more international collaboration. The 42 accords Leipzig University maintained with colleges on five continents were "good," but decisive for it was the cooperation with those that are "on top in science so as to always fetch the latest knowledge and methods for our own university." In swapping scientists the proportion of young cadre should be increased. Especially young scientists should get the chance to stand up to "international fire," "and not just anywhere, but they should work where peak achievements evolve in science." In the view of the Leipzig rector one should give new thought to student training. International trends suggested shorter courses of study, and continuing education was gaining increasing importance. For the GDR this would amount to mean: reduced studies and stronger basic training on which specialization would be based, fewer mandatory courses for the benefit of more specialized courses of related sciences, and more of an integration between training and advanced training. [Text] [Bonn IWE WIRTSCHAFTSDIENST in German Vol 28 No 5, 2 Feb 87 p 4] 5885

INTEREST IN ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION—The GDR obviously wants to increase its environmental research substantially in the coming years. As reported by Prof Wolfgang Mundt, chairman of the Scientific Council for Basic Questions in Environmental Formation and Environmental Protection under the GDR Academy of Sciences, there are presently more than a thousand scientists working on basic research themes in this area. The "Complex Research Task Environmental Formation/Environmental Protection" formulated by the Scientific Council is composed of six major research areas that include the themes "Low-Waste Technologies," "Environmental Monitoring," "Modeling of Cause and Effect Relationships," "Influences on Human Health," and "Ecosystem Research and Ecotechnology." A number of comprehensive solutions that combine a reduction of the environmental load with the recovery of substances of value or with positive energy effects are to be prepared and put into practice by 1989. [Text] [Bonn IWE WIRTSCHAFTSDIENST in German Vol 27 No 44, 5 Dec 86 p 3] 9746

INEFFECTIVE USE OF SPECIALISTS -- Many are in the wrong positions. Prof Dr Manfred Loetsch, director of the research area of the Academy for Social Sciences under the SED Central Committee, has criticized the ineffective use of university and technical school personnel in the GDR. In an interview, he said that in an international comparison t'e GDR has a good number of university and technical school personnel out these are "unfavorably" distributed and lacking in "decisive aeas." Loetsch demanded "changes in their structural application." More university and technical school graduates are to be concentrated purposefully and deliberately in the "crucial growth areas." In general, according to Prof Loetsch, who is a member of the GDR Scientific Council for Sociological Research, there must be a conscientious examination of "where the utilization of university and technical school personnel is absolutely necessary and where it would be less recommended." Prof Loetch and other experts in the GDR assume that at least one-fifth of the university and technical school graduates are incorrectly employed. Especially in research, development and construction-that is, the decisive ares for scientific-technical progress--there is a shortage of specialists with the corresponding training. In the GDR as a whole, 21 percent of all working people are university or technical school graduates and 13.4 percent of these are technical school graduates. [Text] [Bonn IWE WIRTSCHAFTSDIENST in German Vol 27 No 44, 5 Dec 86 p 2] 9746

EFFLUENT DISASTER IN NEUBRANDENBURG—Because of a breach in a dyke, as has now become known, 40,000 to 50,000 cubic meters of effluent a few days ago from a reservoir of the Friedland state—owned starch factory (Neubrandenburg Bezirk) drained into the surrounding waterways. As IWE was told, a circa 12-km long ditch between Friedland and Schwichtenberg was affected especially by the foaming and evil smelling effluent wave. The effluent was drained through an arm into the area of the large meadow of Friedland. According to the SED paper FREIE ERDE, "the higher water stress that occurred in the ditch system was reduced again by further water management measures." For the time being they halted the effluent flow from the starch factory into the breached reservoir. Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, at a conference with state functionaries recently, called on the kreis, municipal, and communal councils to pay more attention to the protection of the natural environment. [Text] [Bonn IWE WIRTSCHAFTSDIENST in German Vol 27 No 45, 12 Dec 86 pp 4-5] 5885

PERFORMANCE-RELATED WAGES--In an additional more than 400 GDR enterprises, performance-related wages, so-called productive wages, are to be introduced soon. That information came from Horst Heintze, secretary of the FDGB National Executive Board. The prerequisites needed for it were being set up in the enterprises right now by, among other things, working out ambitious performance quotas aimed at surpassing the plans. Without ambitious performance quotas, according to the trade union functionary, no permission would be granted to introduce the new wages. They offer the working people higher wages when their performance is commensurate. In carrying on the performance-oriented wage policy the principle ruled that each wage hike was based on a higher performance. Particularly, according to Heintze, the wage reform was to act as an incentive for scientific-technical top performances. The GDR started with performance-oriented wages in the mid-1970's. Meanwhile circa 4.5 million laborers are getting the so-called productive wages. [Text] [Bonn IWE WIRTSCHAFTSDIENST in German Vol 27 No 44, 12 Dec 86 p 4] 5885

RECOGNITION OF GIFTED WORKERS -- In the view of Prof l'anfred Loetsch, research chief in the SED CC's Academy of Social Sciences, the GDR has to make still more unusual efforts to acquire more top capacities in science and technology. Loetsch, one of the leading SED sociologists, said in an interview that contemplating those efforts was long from being concluded. Among other things, he advocated expanding the "attendance of college lectures and seminars by gifted high school students." Yet other considerations were to be undertaken as well to "boost the promotion of talent." Gifted students should be en-"to specialize in terms of their own interests and ideas." The idea that a student should have to be very good in all subjects in order to stand out in one of them was "wrong and simplistic." Loetsch furthermore warned against regarding extraordinarily gifted students as "odd" because of some traits of theirs. This is what he said verbatin: "He who produces original ideas, is critical, thinks around the corner, and contradicts." Society should have to "want" such people. Above and beyond that, extraordinary achievements should clearly be given higher rewards. On the other hand, one should in science have to enforce the principle that when the performance drops, the income would have to follow. He who cannot put up, or can no longer put up, with what is wanted, "should have to werm to the idea that he must quit scientific work." Literally Loetsch said: "We must become familiar with the idea that many unusual measures are needed to provide for more top capacities." He explicitly advocated special terms for top personnel because they were the basis for special achievements. The most gifted people should have to be promoted generously by society. [Text] [Bonn IWE WIRTSCHAFTSDIENST in German Vol 28 No 7, 17 Feb 87 p 3] 5885

CSO: 2300/254

ECONOMY

POLAND

ECONOMIC REPORM 'SECOND STAGE' DOCUMENT CRITICALLY RECEIVED

Document Described, Controversy Noted

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 14, 4 Apr 87 p 3

[Article by Jerzy Kleer: "Second Stage of the Reform: Fighting the Myths"]

[Text] Where are we with the economic reform now, and where are we headed for? Last week, two bodies - the Economic Reform Commission and the Consultative Economic Council (KRG) - discussed a document on the second stage of the reform, prepared by the former body's Secretariat, and subjected it to critical assessment. While the general philosophy of change was accepted, much controversy was aroused by many of the detailed provisions.

The reform is in its sixth year, and there is no agreement as to the assessment of its consequences, as to the concordance of the present arrangements with the 1981 "Lines of Economic Reform," and primarily there is no agreement as to whether the pace of introducing the reform into practice was rapid enough. It is not true that the past years have been entirely wasted. As this writer sees it, we have managed to overcome many myths - and this is also reflected in the above-mentioned document on the second stage of the reform. We are also aware that economic life cannot be regulated exclusively by legal acts - a good legal system is indeed necessary, but it will not transform the economy automatically. Still more important, we have another experience: We know that a too small extent of changes in the economic system, and especially their too long spread in time, not only produce little but also lead the economy astray.

And finally, the present economic consciousness is different than it was 5 years ago even though this is not to say that the changes in this consciousness are sufficient. It is difficult, especially for the large social groups, to forgo the principles, patterns of behavior, or expectations that developed under the command-and-quota system. A passage from passive execution of orders towards initiative, enterprise, and rationality requires something more than the removal of obstacles in the form of numerous outdated regulations. It requires that people's consciousness be thoroughly transformed, and that we pass from a system which protects employees irrespective of whether they are good or bad to a system in which competition would play an important role - not only among enterprises but also among individual employees (meaning

that an employee's financial status must be closely linked to his work). Has such consciousness already been achieved? I do not think so, but this is no reason why the introduction of some arrangements should be postponed. Some behaviors cannot be learned from a book or a newspaper. For this, economic practice is needed - sometimes, quite brutal practice. We should put an end to extended welfare factions of enterprises. Naturally, these functions should not be abandoned, but shifted to another level - that of local and state authorities. Having written about this for long, I know I am repeating myself - but this truth has yet to be brought across to public consciousness, including the consciousness of the decision-makers.

More of the Market

The document of the Economic Reform Commission's Secretariat is permeated with a market orientation, although this has not been stated openly.

What is - and what should be - the market in a socialist economy, or to be more precise, in a reformed economy, as planned in Poland? If the overriding goal is to put the economy into equilibrium, in all its areas, and if market and prices are to be among the principal mechanisms, then the market orientation [of the document] is obvious. This is a very important choice, one which has been suggested by the experience of the past 5 years. While there is no major disagreements as to the need for a smoothly operating market, emotions run high when it comes to discussing ways in which equilibrium is to be achieved. In this context, two issues can be considered.

The first one concerns the transformation of the pattern of prices. The document presents the following variants - to carry out the operation in 1 year, to spread it over a period of 2 to 3 years, or to adopt a step-by-step method, designed for many years. From the economic point of view, the first variant is the best, but - calling as it is for a renewed, temporary reduction in consumption, at least in some groups - it may face public resistance. Is this variant feasible? I have some doubts, the more so as a subsequent quick improvement in living standards would be hard to achieve. The economy is not capable of adapting itself quickly to new conditions, and in this it would have to be supported by some ancillary measures, especially by institutional changes.

The second variant is more palatable for the public, as it does not necessarily involve a drop in living standards, and can be bolstered by production growth. But on the other hand, a change of the pattern of prices spread over several years may get the economy to evolve in a different direction than originally planned, as enterprises make their choices not only on the basis of long-term consideration but also in response to current developments.

The step-by-step variant leads nowhere. It is harmful socially as well as economically. Personally, I opt for the second variant, warts and all.

And finally, we should realize that the introduction of market mechanisms would not lead - whether in the short or in the longer run - to the emergence

of a market in the image and after the likeness of markets in Switzerland, Austria, or West Germany. More probably, as pointed out during Commission debates, it would be a market similar to those in Balkan countries. Before having a good market, we will have to pass the stage of a more primitive market. Such is the logic of development.

Institutional Changes

So far, the theory of the system of functioning of the economy placed more emphasis on economic mechanisms and controls and less on institutions. But in a centrally-controlled socialist economy under a command-and-quota system, institutions actually play a much greater role, as I have often pointed out. Hence, a departure from the command system will require large-scale transformations - not only in the central economic administration, but also in sectoral ministries, central institutions [mandatory] cooperative unions, etc. This may be well known, but it was only several months ago that more systematic work began on formulating the goals concerning the future model of the central economic administration, central institutions, and organizational structures in the economy. Institutional changes are pivotal for a smooth operation of the economy.

In a situation where we attach so great importance to entrepreneurship and innovation, it is imperative that enterprises and cooperatives be freed from the "protective" umbrella of old institutions. We now have greater knowledge of this problem than we had just several months ago. We not only know that at least half of these institutions is superfluous, but - more important - that the surviving ones will have to perform diametrically different functions.

The paper compiled by the Commission's Secretariat is interesting, although it fails to present a clear stance on a number of issues, referring the reader to work by the Party and Government Commission for the Review and Modernization of Organizational Structures in the Economy and the State.

Two issues are tackled unambiguously, which is important for theory, but too general for practical application. It is stated that in an economy with autonomous enterprises, the organizational forms should be neither rigid nor uniform, and that various forms of links should be allowed, including links among different ownership sectors. Mixed enterprises - involving the state, the cooperative, and the private sector - are being created at present or will be created in the future, with the economic effect the only criterion of their establishment. Also mentioned, although perhaps not very clearly, is the capital market and the possibility of capital flows between various ownership sectors. In this way, the barriers separating one form of property from another will be removed, and shares and bonds, available also for private individuals, will be issued.

Plurality of Ownership Sectors

Compared to other official documents, the Secretariat's paper puts greater emphasis on the advisability of a diversified ownership pattern of the

economy - also outside agriculture. This is not a new development - at least as far as practical arrangements are concerned. But we all know that the attitudes towards the nonfarm private sector are not always favorable. On various occasions, attention is drawn to its darker sides, and its advantages are belittled. I am far from uncritical praises for the private sector. But while opting for a broader use of market mechanisms and for the autonomy of state enterprises, we cannot but opt for private initiative and private enterprise as well. The capital resources held by the population - in zloty and in foreign currency - must be utilized to a greater degree. Although their exact amount is not known with accuracy, these are vast resources and their utilization for production purposes is not only possible but in fact necessary. When providing broader opportunities for the expansion of the private sector, we will abandon neither the principles of socialism nor the Center's role in mapping out the directions of this expansion. What is needed is to use the privately held resources for development and divert them from consumption.

The problem, incidentally, is much more complex. Under the command-and-quota system, even if nonstate economic entities do operate, the internal logic of the system makes them imitate the behavioral patterns of state enterprises. There are many examples of this process - not only in Poland.

On the other hand, under an indirectly controlled market system, not only state enterprises have to be diversified, but also cooperatives must start operating like cooperatives - not as semi-state enterprises as is often the case at present. In such a system, there is also a place for private firms. The so-called parallel economy - now very widespread - must be reduced. But a portion of it may and should be legalized, and private firms should be provided with longer-term prospects for development.

In this article, I focused on some more general systemic elements, while leaving off the very introduction of the second stage of the reform. As will be shown by a careful analysis of the document of the Secretariat, too many problems are postponed till after 1990, while few questions are planned to be tackled before that date. But it is often forgotten that time is not on our side. If enterprise and initiative are to be released, which ranks among major goals for the second stage, strong stimuli have to be provided—and this can be achieved not only through material incentives (which, incidentally, must not be neglected) but also through the removal of administrative, social, and political barriers. Many such goals were set in the programmatic speech delivered at the session of the Economic Reform Commission by Wojciech Jaruzelski. The question now is how quickly and how consistently the second stage of the reform will be introduced into practice. The practice to date satisfies no one.

Coumission Economists Highly Critical

Warsaw ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE in Polish No 14, 5 Apr 87 pp 1, 6

[Article by Tomasz Jezioranski: "Acceleration of the Reform: How and When?"]

On its March 25 plenary session, presided over by Premier Zbigniew Messner, the Economic Reform Commission discussed a draft of the document "The Second Stage of the Reform: Objectives, Directions, Methods," bearing the subtitle "Proposals for Discussion" and a "Not for Publication" print. The paper was prepared by the Secretariat of the Commission, on the strength of a resolution adopted at its last November's meeting.

The first part of the session was attended by the Commission's former chairman, Gen Wojciech Jaruxelski who took the floor as the first speaker. "We have achieved very much owing to the reform," he said, "but there are still a lot of unresolved problems. The well-known objective factors, the remnants of conservative and bureaucratic attitudes, and the social and psychological inhibitions have combined to dilute the reform. Operating at half steam, it has produced incomplete results.

"The present period requires and permits a major acceleration of qualitative changes in the economy and the initiation of more radical transformations," the First Secretary of the PZPR Central Committee went on. "The reform must reach its 'critical mass,' or otherwise the policy of releasing social energy, which forms the essence of the second stage of the reform, will not succeed."

Trade-Off

The next speaker, Minister Pranciszek Kubiczek, who combines the functions of the secretary of the Economic Reform Commission and the First Vice-Chairman of the Government Planning Commission, spoke about the course of work on the document. Taking part in this work, at the initiative of the Commission's Secretariat, were many academics. Compromise was reached on a host of issues, but in respect to some other ones differences of opinions remained, finding reflection in alternative variants provided in the document and concerning, for example, the manner of transforming the price system, enterprise finances, banking, or taxes.

Minister Kubiczek listed five groups of measures which have to be undertaken urgently and which constitute the second stage. These include:

- rebalancing all markets, by methods involving demand, supply, and prices;
- making economic parameters more realistic;
- enabling free flow of physical and financial resources between economic entities:

- providing institutional and legal conditions for the development of socialist enterprise;
- consistently observing the principle of self-financing.

Success in the first two areas, Minister Kubiczek said, is a condition for success in the remaining three. The sense of the second stage can, in a way, be described by the formula of "give and take."

In exchange for:

- wide price movements in a short time;
- changes in the distribution pattern of personal incomes;
- higher income differentials among enterprises;
- slight reduction of the social security thresholds;

It is possible to achieve the following:

- good pay for good work, poor pay for poor work;
- transformation of seller's markets into buyer's markets wherever possible;
- reduction of inflation, down even to 5-6% (while reducing subsidies by 75%);
- higher quality of production and services;
- general increase in the standard of living.

The ensuing discussion - with 22 speakers - had two clear currents. The first concerned the assessment of the document as a whole - its concept and design - while the other one was focused on detailed arrangements, and particularly on matters relating to the restoration of equilibrium.

Before turning to the discussion, let me present some information on the discussed document.

Reversed Proportions

The paper consists of three parts and five appendices. The short first part defines the objectives and directions of the second stage which, the authors of the document say, should mean an accelerated approach to the economic system described in "Lines of Economic Reform" - with the proviso that in many areas the reform program outlined in the "Lines" should be expanded, to reflect the most recent experiences of Poland and other socialist countries, the present and the expected realities of the Polish economy, and the accumulating knowledge about social and economic mechanisms.

Major improvement in rationality of economic activity and in technical, economic, and organizational innovation remains the principal objective of the economy, the authors go on. This should bring about rapid increase in efficiency, better satisfaction of society's needs, and better working and living conditions. Instrumental in pursuing these goals will be autonomy, self-management, and self-financing of enterprises. These basic units of the socialist economy should promote socialist entrepreneurship and innovation, while at the same time assuming responsibility for the results of economic activity.

The second part of the paper contains proposed arrangements concerning: self-financing banking, entrepreneurship, wages, labor relations, social security, organizational structures in the economy, central control of the economy, its institutional pattern, and social services.

A detailed presentation of this 70-page long part of the document would not be possible. Generally, it provides a vision of the target model which in some aspects is in almost literal agreement with the "Lines," which in some other aspects enlarges on some provisions of the "Lines," and which in still other aspects proposes diametrically different arrangements. Some of these aspects were taken up in the course of discussion.

The third and the shortest part, just five pages long, is devoted to implementing principles. In the first period, covering the years 1987-1989, the authors write, the implementing activity will consist in consolidating the already provided arrangements and strengthening the positive tendencies. After 1990, changes of institutional character will be introduced - those requiring further theoretical work and longer legislative procedures (preparatory work is to be started soon).

And finally the appendices, which enlarge on some provisions of the basic document, concern the following issues: transformations in enterprises' financial system, guidelines on changes in the banking system (one proposal presented by the authors of the document, and another by National Bank of Poland experts), concepts of changes in the classification of enterprises (proposals of Prof. Mujzel and Prof. Borkowska), and changes in the range and mode of operations of the parent bodies.

The document was assessed critically, and sometimes very critically, in both of the above-mentioned currents of discussion. Let me start with the first one, concerning the document as a whole.

"If I were to assign percentagewise weights to three major layers of the document on the second stage," said Prof. Wladyslaw Baka, "the pattern would be this: 5 percent for general principles, 15 percent for legislation, and 80 percent for implementation. The principles are generally O.K. According to World Bank experts, the "Lines of Economic Reform" which define these principles provide the socialist community's most radical and most holistic attempt at transforming the system of functioning of the economy. But the implementation of these principles, as seen by World Bank experts, is highly insufficient - both as regards the requirements and the existing opportunities."

The document on the second stage of the reform, Prof. Baka continued, should lay down a clearly visible general line of systemic changes, to be aimed at providing the room for enterprise. To this end, it is not only necessary to release initiative from the fatters of numerous regulations (which often penalize its manifestations) but also to change the general philosophy of economic law - from the formula "do what you are allowed to by the law" to the formula "do what is not prohibited by the law." (It may be noted here that the latter formula was strongly emphasized in the "Lines of Economic Reform" but could not find its way into practice - author's note.)

The task of imparting market character to economic mechanisms, proposed in the document, means nothing else than the desired return to the "Lines." But for this to be achieved, it is necessary to treat the money as a basic economic category. There will be no chance for a breakthrough in the economy, Prof. Baka stressed, if planners do not change their attitude towards the money, still believing that the physical categories are most important while the money will always be found somehow.

"Raising the quality of central control of the economy is equally important. While not enlarging on this subject, I would only note that when discussing the quality of central control we still skip over the relationships between the head of an institution and the [Party] apparatus, and the dominant influence of the latter upon the policy pursued by the institution.

"And finally, the document should be so designed as to make Government intentions intelligible for the people. It would thus be worthwhile to check whether the presented intentions are in agreement with people's expectations of the second stage. I would also propose to abandon the false thesis that price rises are the consequence of the second stage of the reform. Prices would have to be increased even without the reform, only that then they would have exclusively a money-draining effect. Under the reform, price movements offer a chance of serving the goal of economic rationality."

Acceleration or Postponement?

In one form or another, the document was criticized for an oversized part devoted to the target model and a simultaneous negligence of implementing matters very urgent at present, and of some crucial issues such as the reform of central economic administration.

"We are fed up with constant references to models. What we need is a clear implementing program," said Mr Jerzy Albrecht. "Some future-related proposals are even inspiring - but it gives me goose-flesh to think what legislative avalanche would be caused by this eruption of ideas. The more so as we still have major loopholes in the legal foundations of the reform."

According to Prof. Jan Mujzel (whose opinion was shared by Prof. Baka), it is hard to detect in the document any major line of system changes in the economy. This line should contain three elements: greater role for enterprises, market orientation of the economy, and democratization of economic life. The first element is present in the document. The second one is mentioned much more vaguely. And the third element is conspicuous by its absence. "In sum, the presented concepts are highly technocratic — and in this respect they stand in obvious contradiction to the "Lines" rather than providing their continuation," Prof. Mujzel said.

"When reading the draft paper, I wondered about the meaning of purported acceleration in a situation where we are told to consolidate the existing arrangements for the next 4 years and to introduce changes only in the 1990's," he added.

Still more critical was Prof. Cezary Jozefiak, to whom the proposed timetable meant postponement of the reform, not acceleration.

"Instead of a program of action to be set in motion right now, we are offered a rather disjointed and noncommittal declaration of intentions for more distant future. Instead of breakthrough changes in economic relations, which are necessary in view of the state of the economy and the mood of apathy and distrust in the community, we are offered the concept of indirect centralization of the economy. Direct commands are being replaced with economic/ financial instruments which operate in response to central directives, rather than market signals. This indirect centralization is especially visible in the part devoted to planning and organizational structures, in the complete silence on the reform of central economic administration, and in the concept of excluding the producer goods industries from the operation of the market."

Several speakers spoke about diagnosis of the present state of affairs, as an important starting point for the implementing program and an element of great importance for the logic of the document.

In the words of Prof. Czeslaw Bobrowski, the design of the document on the second stage must rest, on the one hand, on a deep awareness of the poor economic situation and, on the other, on an honest analytical work. Both are lacking from the document. (Prof. Bobrowski also complained that it is not known what particular people are hidden under the guise of the "Secretariat" and that the group of those involved in work on the document included only one of the authors of the "Lines - Prof. Mujzel.)

According to Prof. Jozefiak, the absence of an assessment of the first stage of the reform is a glaring drawback of the document, reducing its practical value and impairing its credibility. And the required assessment should not consist of the list of objective obstacles, but rather should bring a self-critical presentation of what has not been done and why, what has been done wrongly, and who is to blame.

Speaking in a similar vein was Assoc. Prof. Jerzy Osiatynski. Providing no answer to questions concerning failures and their causes, the document makes the impression that in order to implement the second stage of the reform it will suffice to change prices and go on with the present implementing methods. It is doubly false. First, it is not true that price rises are a condition for starting the second stage - but this is suggested by the document and by public statements of Government members (e.g., Vice Premier Szalajda's statement in Lodz). This way of thinking can only lead to rising inflation. (Premier Messner replied that he did not find such iunctim in Mr Szlajda's speech.)

"And do we need continuation?" Prof. Osiatynski went on. "No. What we need are changes - concrete, principled, and quick. Numerous strait jackets restricting enterprises' autonomy must be removed. High income differentials must be allowed, since egalitarian demagogy and practice are very harmful to the reform. The expansion of nonstate - i.e., cooperative and private - sectors should be encouraged. In central planning, the practice of setting

targets in physical terms should be abandoned in favor of honest work on macroproportions. Economic life should be democratized, and some well-defined procedures introduced, or otherwise neither the investment activity will be brought under control nor senior appointments policy improved."

Mr Leopold Bluck had this to say: "The document contains a declaration of intentions - which, in a short form, may be found necessary, so as to leave no doubt about the relevancy of the 'Lines' - but provides few details. This declarative document, full of phrases 'it is necessary to...,' 'it is imperative that...' etc., stands no chances of winning over the public, and consequently, of generating public acceptance for the second stage. If we want to obtain this acceptance, it must be stated unambiguously what will be done, how, and when, in order to make acceleration a realistic proposition."

To this, Prof. Jozef Pajestka added: "It is impermissible that the document should address all demands, tasks, and expectations exclusively to the grassroots level. Detailed demands should also be addressed to the Government. The success of the reform is contingent on the authorities in at least the same degree as it is contingent on the enterprises and the workforce."

As noted by several speakers, including Professors Bobrowski, Rajkiewicz, and Pajestka, the document looks like being devoted to manufacturing industry alone, while leaving off construction, investments, distribution, or mining.

"Should the mining industry be exempt from the rigors of efficiency forever?" Prof. Pajestka asked with some irritation. "In this country, everybody is afraid of the mining complex. The Sejm is afraid, the Finance Minister is afraid, and perhaps only the Government is not afraid - although I had no chance of noticing this. At long last, we must put an end to the practice of the state's footing every bill presented by the mining industry."

Which Way to Equilibrium

Prof. Urszula Wojciechowska agreed with "all those complaining that instead of a detailed action program we have been provided with another vision of the target model. We have known for long what to do, but we still do not know how - and especially how to achieve lasting equilibrium."

None of those discussing the issue of equilibrium - and it was taken up by nearly all speakers - questioned the opinion that it is necessary. But at the same time, everybody agreed with what Prof. Bobrowski had to say on the subject: "Equilibrium is a necessary condition for the implementation of the reform, but not a sufficient one - just as the price-and-income operations form a necessary, but not a sufficient, condition for the balancing of the economy."

In this way, a unanimous and firm refutation was given to some equilibriumrelated theses flowing rather obviously from the document - that the economic
equilibrium can be largely confined to market equilibrium; that, being a
necessary condition for the success of the reform, equilibrium is also a
sufficient condition; and that an equilibrium conducive to the reform can be
obtained exclusively by means of price-and-income operations.

Balancing, in the first place, who was for production supplies and for capital equipment, it was pointed out, is vivotal for the overall economic equilibrium. Only this, to be coupled with even a small extent of grassroots-level restructuring, can possible a modicum of economic conditions for durable equilibrium in the consumer of t

Prof. Bobrowski added that "equilibrium just no perceived exclusively as a condition of the reform, since there is a great deal of feedback between the two. Equilibrium is necessary for the reform, and also the reform is necessary for durable equilibrium."

The opinion that equilibrium should first be restored in the consumer market was advocated by Prof. Jozef Popkiewicz. But according to Dr Tadeusz Wojciechowski, the most important goal is to put into balance - and, in fact, to set in order - the market for production supplies. It is not true, he said, that only 50 groups of raw and intermediate materials are rationed in Poland. Actually, much more groups are rationed one way or another - recently, even citric acid. Half a million people are now involved in the distribution of production supplies. New middlemen are emerging, and this process is encouraged, and even generated, by the existing institutional and sectoral pattern. Monopolistic production-supply organizations are growing stronger, as is the conviction that this area has got out of control.

"The problem of economic equilibrium will not be resolved by methods involving prices, or even prices and incomes," said Prof. Pajestka. "In several months from now, we would again be faced with the necessity of seeking equilibrium through another price operation — for the umpteenth time. This is something which no society and no authorities could bear. To attain equilibrium, a comprehensive approach is needed. Among other things, a portion of personal money stocks held by the population should be absorbed by other methods, guaranteeing that the money will not depreciate. This would check the escape from the money which disorganizes the market."

Prof. Wojciechowski proposed to compile a separate document containing a program on achieving durable economic equilibrium, which would provide not only for systemic arrangements but also for arrangements which fall into the purview of policy sensu stricto and economic policy. The program should be focused not only on the price-and-demand-related determinants of equilibrium, but also - if not primarily - on supply-side methods which are lacking from the discussed document. The balanced market may be different - either of the type seen in West Germany or that seen in Turkey.

Prof. Legatowicz remarked that a well-designed system should have built-in balancing mechanisms. The logic presented in the document - to achieve equilibrium by means of prices first and only then to introduce the mechanisms of the reform - is erroneous. Correct mechanisms should lead to "good" prices and keep them durably. Otherwise, "bad" prices will re-emerge after each successive operation.

Another instance of questionable reasoning was pointed out by Prof. Bobrowski and Mr Albrecht. At first, an arbitrary plan of subsidy reduction was

compiled, and only then price movements were designed. This sequence is in reverse to what economic logic would suggest. The elimination of subsidies should be the consequence of a consciously-oriented economic policy, including - but not in the first place - price policy.

"It is impermissible that the consequences of mechanical cuts in subsidies should be shifted in full to society. The burden should be shouldered, for the most part, by enterprises. But for this, we need precisely a full reform," said Mr Albrecht.

Prof. Pajestka added that in Poland, the state has for years been soft on enterprises and, as a result, has to be tough on the population. A third option does not exist.

Since the draft paper presented three variants of balancing through prices (one-shot operation, two-to-three years' process, and the continuation of the step-by-step policy) most speakers opted in this particular aspect for the second variant. But, as noted by Dr Mateusz Swiecicki, the document should present the entirety of the state's policy after that operation, i.e., the policy of maintaining the already achieved equilibrium.

Within the strict area of prices, the speakers placed special emphasis on the necessity of making the coal and energy prices realistic as soon as possible - first, because coal subsidies constitute a big drain on State Treasury (more than Z1 300 billion last year), and second, because correct prices for coal and energy are a necessary condition for coercion to invest in energy-saving equipment.

"An estimated Z1 30,000 has to be spent at present to save a ton of coal, which, with the coal price of Z1 3,000 per ton and a consequent 10-year period of return, makes the relevant investment absolutely unprofitable," said Prof. Mieczyslaw Lesz. He also expressed the opinion (similarly as Dr Swiecicki), that the increase in coal prices should not be a reason for correcting farm procurement prices. A ton of wheat now equals in value around 10 tons of coal, while in rich countries the ratio is one to three.

Self-Management: A Repetition of the Mistake

Several speakers - including Professors Bar, Mujzel, Baka, Jozefiak, Glinski, Zawadzki, Osiatynski, and Dr Jedrychowski - expressed great concern at the manner in which the authors of the document tackled the issue of worker self-management. That major pillar of the reform is not reflected in the document at all.

Self-management is mentioned twice. The first mention is in the chapter on organizational structures, where it is proposed outrightly to separate enterprises of basic importance for the economy (there are 1,400 of them at present) and constitute them as manager-run units, with self-management powers reduced to the formulating of opinions.

For the second time, self-management is mentioned in a short chapter devoted to the promotion of entrepreneurship, where the functions of self-management are confined to "integrating the workforce around economic policy goals" and supporting enterprise directors in the pursuing of these goals.

"Questioning the principle of general self-management, and returning to the paternalistic model of so-called manager-run enterprise contravenes the decisions of the 10th PZPR Congress which were later confirmed by the 3d plenary session of the PZPR Central Committee and - several times - by the Politburo," said Prof. Sylwester Zawadzki. "It also contravenes the Sejm's resolution of December 1986, when, in connection with the well-known bill on changes in economic reform acts, the Sejm stated clearly that self-management must be expanded and that attempts at its curtailment should be opposed vehemently. It is very strange that the same politically mistaken concepts, already rejected by the state's governing bodies, are put forward again, just 3 months later."

In elaborating on Prof. Zawadzki's reasoning, Prof. Ludwik Bar recalled Thesis 17 of the "Lines of Economic Reform," to which the authors of the discussed document were said to be so faithful. The thesis reads: "Working collectives in the state sector (in industry, agriculture, and other areas) shall be vested with the rights of real co-owners of national property." So, rather than putting forward successive restricting proposals, [the authorities] should account for the way this thesis of the "Lines" has been implemented, and only then speak about the future - although in a rather different spirit.

"Some opponents of self-management argue that in the most developed countries the good state of the economy has been achieved without self-management bodies. To them, I reply: Socialism is not being built in these countries, and unemployment is a disciplining instrument there.

"Others say that self-management should be optional. If the workforce wants it, let there be self-management; but if it doesn't want, let the administrative apparatus reign supreme. To them, I want to remind: In 1981, we found general self-management to be in the interest of not only particular working collectives but also in the interest of society and the state. The strength of the state is magnified by the strength of a conscious workforce, and it is weakened by an amorphous, manipulable mass.

"In this context, it may be recalled that the principle of optional worker councils, introduced in a 1958 act, resulted - with the help of some pressure - in the reduction in the number of these councils from 6,000 to 600 over a short span of time. The so-called KSR bodies were dominated by people who did not represent the entirety of the workforce. I have serious doubts whether the present concept of manager-run enterprises increases the public's confidence in the will to continue the reform in the shape defined in the 'Lines' which were approved by the 9th PZPR Congress," Prof. Bar said.

The only speaker to pronounce himself in favor of the manager-run enterprise and against self-management - described as a driving force behind inflation - was Deputy Stanislaw Rostworowski of the Christian Social Society (ChSS).

Although overshadowed by problems of disequilibrium and self-management, the current of the discussion devoted to individual sections of the draft also contained many other critical remarks. Reservation was expressed about motivation systems (J. Mujzel), the distribution of production supplies (T. Wojciechowski, M. Swiecicki, J. Mujzel), taxation of the population (H. Kisiel), organizational structures in the economy (C. Jozefiak, J. Mujzel, J. Osiatynski, L. Bar) and proposed changes in social policy (A. Rajkiewicz).

It may be also noted that, except for Prof. Pajestka, all speakers on the subject were against the Secretariat's proposal to set up a task force to oversee the implementation of the reform. According to the proposed concept, the task force would be headed by a vice-chairman of the Planning Commission, and would be composed of vice-ministers from the ministries concerned.

Arguments against this proposal were presented most fully by Prof. Baka:
"The responsibility for the implementation of the reform at this stage, i.e., in its sixth year, must be borne by the Government as a whole, not by a select group of people."

Planning Commission Chairman, Vice-Premier Manfred Gorywoda was the last to take the floor in the discussion. Although the draft contains loopholes and controversial proposals, he said, there can be no doubt that, generally, it represents a broadening of the "Lines." The reason why many shortcomings were not avoided was the shortage of time. And quite a lot of time is needed when it comes, for example, to defining the reformed principles for mining, distribution, or especially for construction and investment.

In this situation, he went on, the discussed paper on the second stage should be sent back for corrections, and at the same time another document - on the "trajectory" to the adopted target - should be worked out.

Summing up the more than 7-hour-long discussion, the Prime Minister, Prof. Zbigniew Messner said that the best proposals and comments expressed in its course should be picked up for the benefit of further work on the subject, and that the corrected document should be published as soon as possible, to start serious public debate over its contents. But for this debate to produce results in the form of particular decisions, it is necessary to work out the "trajectory" to the target, which is the weakest element of not only the discussed document but of the "Lines of Economic Reform" as well.

"I agree with those speakers who suggested that the draft document is passive in some of its aspects," the Premier said. "Take the example of the reform of central economic administration. We are ready to carry out such reform but not at the price of chaos in the economy."

But the Prime Minister rejected the charge that the Government seeks equilibrium exclusively in the field of prices and wages. On the contrary, he argued, it is on the supply side where the Government sees assumptions of equilibrium. Regrettably, prices have become in Poland a political category, he went on, so now every effort should be made to impart to them their original character of exclusively economic categories.

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CSO: 2020/80

RCONOMY

PLANS, PROSPECTS FOR AIRLINE TRANSPORTATION EXAMINED

Warsaw SLOWO POWSZECHNE in Polish 20 Jan 87 p 3

[Article by Stefan Sokulski: "Director's Optimism"]

[Text] In a meeting with journalists at the end of 1986, the new director of the LOT Polish airlines, Col. Jersy Slowinski, stated that the year then ending had been a year of considerable achievements, whereas 1987 would be a year of hope. The new head of airline transportation places his hopes, above all, in deliveries of new aircraft and the construction of an airport in Okecie and a municipal terminal in Warsaw.

The optimism of LOT's director certainly deserves to be emphasized, but it seems that the enterprise's management will have to work hard in order for all of the outlined tasks and aims to be fully accomplished, since there are many problems to be solved, and the conditions under which LOT will have to operate in Poland and abroad are not easy ones.

Let us take the fleet, for instance. New aircraft imported from the Soviet Union will gradually be put into operation, but for many years to come we will be carrying passengers in old, uncomfortable aircraft that are very expensive as a result of their large fuel consumption. An AN-24 flying on domestic routes is already a very ancient aircraft for the aviation fleet, but about 10 years still remain in its operating life. Admittedly, a contract has been signed with the Antonov design bureau for the modernization of these aircraft, but there cannot be any revelations in regard to either the amount of fuel consumption or the noise. The replacement of the AN-24's by the more capacious TU-134's and IL-18's is being considered, but a radical change for the better can only be expected after purchasing modern IL-114's from the Soviet Union; these, however, are only in the design stage.

"As far as the aircraft inventory is concerned," stated Lot's technical director Wladyslaw Metelski, "we gave up on buying the wide-body IL-86's, the performance of which is not the best, and which are furthermore not suitable for our network of routes. I would like to note that we had to sell 6 of those aircraft during this 5-year period. On the other hand, we are waiting for the opportunity to buy the IL-96 long-range aircraft, which can take 300 passengers on board in its single-class version, and 230 in its two-class

version. The first flights of that aircraft are to take place this year, and we are planning to purchase IL-96's in 1991."

Consequently, during the next few years airline transportation will be reinforced by a total of 13 TU-154 aircraft and perhaps several of the IL-92 units still being tested. Will such an infusion of equipment be enough to meet the most urgent fleet requirements? It is difficult to answer that question today, but the fact is that no Western aircraft are planned to be purchased, and we will base all of our transportation capacity on deliveries from the Soviet Union.

The transportation plans for this year and the next few years are slowly crystallizing. In spite of the increasingly larger shift of travelers to railroad lines, the domestic destinations will be maintained. Mevertheless, rapid railroad travel, on the Warsaw-Krakow, Warsaw-Katowice, and Warsaw-Gdansk routes, among others, is forcing us to reanalyze the current airline routes.

A new look at domestic travel will probably cause us to concentrate airline transportation on long routes, such as Rzeszow-Szczecin, Katowice-Gdansk, and Wroclaw-Gdansk. Then the economic results will also be different, and on the whole, all national transportation will no longer be in such short supply. The view of domestic flights as a continuation of foreign routes is also a convincing argument for maintaining domestic traffic. This seems to be the correct view.

It is high time to deal with such a simple matter as establishing convenient connections between the domestic airport and the international one. Warsaw is perhaps the only city in the world where such a connection does not exist, and a tourist has to wander around the outskirts of the city with his baggage. In this case, speaking about fuel problems is a ridiculous argument in favor of the existing nonsense.

Plans to expand international routes do exist, although admittedly there are fewer such plans than in previous years. Perhaps as early as March a flight to Beijing will be established; according to the analyses that have been conducted, this is completely justifiable economically, in view of the Polish-Chinese trade and economic contacts, which are developing year by year. That will also be an opportunity to develop tourist traffic. Only LOT aircraft will fly on the Warsaw-Beijing route, but later Chinese aircraft will also do so.

Also in 1987 we will begin flying to Cyprus. In the past, what happened was that aircraft from the Warsaw-Cairo route would land on Cyprus; now, on the other hand, it will be a completely new destination.

Inquiries have been conducted about the subject of establishing a route to South America, and subsequently routes to Japan, Australia, and African countries as well. We are beginning the penetration of new markets by opening representations. In the near future, a LOT office will be opened in Buenos Aires. A representation is already in operation in Mexico.

In view of the enormous competition and our limited capabilities, establishing new routes is not easy. It seems to be the proper course of action, however, just as it is a good idea to increase the number of charter flights in markets that are difficult for us. At this time, it is precisely due to charters that we have daily flights to the United States in season, and this year our aircraft will fly not only to New York but also to Chicago, Boston, and Los Angeles. We will have about 100 normal flights to Canada and 50 charter flights to Toronto.

Charter flights allow conducting a very flexible transportation policy, and at the same time make it possible to become familiar with the market and constitute an opportunity to open up routes for regular transportation later on.

The new director's declaration about improving the quality of service for passengers should be accepted with a great deal of satisfaction. It is said that there are few complaints about LOT's activity, but it is good that the enterprise's management is aware of the importance of this problem and the scope of the tasks. After all, our competitors are not sleeping and we, LOT's domestic customers, would also like to be served better on the ground and in the air, especially since a great deal can be done without costly investments, but only through better organization of the work. Perhaps the new director will finally be able to conclude a precise agreement with all of the offices operating at airports, which would lead to more efficient service for passengers. After all, this is in LOT's interest, since resentment is aimed at the airline, which the travelers pay for safe and efficient transportation to the destination of their trip.

In 1986 LOT carried close to 1,800,000 people; the plans for this year are somewhat higher. A marked increase in the number of customers can only be hoped for after several years, when the fleet situation has improved and the new airport facilities at Okecie and the municipal terminal in Warsaw have been turned over for operation. At this time, however, it is already necessary to think about how to serve those 5 million passengers in 1990, under conditions which will earn our airline a good reputation.

9909 CSO: 2600/382 ECONOMY POLAND

HEAT EXPORTER DESCRIBES 1986 MARKET, FUTURE PROSPECTS

Warsaw SLOWO POWSZECHNE in Polish 19 Jan 87 p 5

[Interview with Edzislaw Brylski, director of "Animex" Foreign Trade Agency, by Marek Matusiak: "Seeking a Half Million in 'Greenbacks'"]

[Text] [Question] For many years, the traditional obligation to be silent has applied equally to the Sicilian and American Mafia, and to Polish meat exports. It is my impression, however, that this subject is ceasing to be a taboo one, and that we can talk openly about such matters, which at one time upset public opinion so much.

[Answer] The sensational atmosphere about these exports really has diminished considerably. I think that this has taken place due to several factors; one of these, a not insignificant one, is the fact that due to the high purchases of pork and beef, not only are the ration requirements fully covered, but exports also constitute a negligible amount for the domestic market.

[Question] Is that really the case?

[Answer] Yes. Last year we exported about 180,000 tons of meat (these are recalculated data, since we are also selling live cattle as well), including about 130,000 tons of pork and beef. In the meantime, during that period we bought up about 1.9 million tons. It is thus easy to calculate that we sold abroad less than 7 percent of the stock of meat at the country's disposal.

[Question] But one can also not conceal the fact that 7 percent consists of the most sought-after types, especially pork products.

[Answer] I was not trying to conceal that at all. We are trying to sell the goods whose export will be the most profitable. In other words, it is most economically justifiable to sell the most expensive product, even at the cost of a considerable reduction in domestic deliveries of those types.

Let us try to look at this problem from the side of the quantitative indicators. For the above-mentioned 130,000 tons of meat, "Animex" received about \$30 million. If there had been a shortage of meat in Poland for some reason, we could have bought that same amount of it for half of the money we earned. That is the first thing.

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In the second place, one should remember that this entire time we have been under pressure from the foreign exchange needs of our entire economy. The foreign exchange from agricultural and food exports is allocated for importing grain, fodder ingredients, pesticides, and a long list of other products needed for use in that same agricultural and food industry. The turnover balance for products of this type is still negative, and so "Animex" must also be concerned about increasing exports.

[Question] Were you successful in doing that last year?

[Answer] Last year's plan already provided for an increase in exports, and "Animex" was able to exceed it by close to 20 percent. That was in spite of the 3-month embargo on exports after the Chernobyl accident. A total of about \$390 million came into our accounts, \$60 million more than the year before.

And I should add at once that the overfulfillment of the plan was caused by the meat industry, which provided "Animex" with an additional 35,000 tons of beef (we sold a considerable part of it to Brazil, and 12,000 tons to the Soviet Union for hard currency), and 5,000 tons of ham. This does not mean that the amounts of other types of goods exported did not increase as well.

[Question] Exactly. What did "Animex" earn the most from?

[Answer] Perhaps I can give you a complete list of the most important groups of products. And thus, for frozen and fresh meat (mainly beef) we received over \$40 million; for ham and other canned goods and bacon, nearly \$120 million; next, we received \$65 million for the sale of poultry, game, and feathers; \$70 million for live cattle, calves, and sheep; and the same amount for the sale of horses and horse meat.

In all of these product groups—with the sole exception of the last one—exports increased in comparison with the 1985 results. As far as the sale of horses and horse meat is concerned, we were unfortunately unable to make up for the 3-month embargo of the markets.

[Question] What were the main sales markets?

[Answer] Primarily the United States, Italy, West Germany, Japan, Brazil, and the Arab countries. Traditionally the largest market for "Animex's" sales has been Italy, which had to yield its place to the United States last year as a result of restrictions on the purchase of horses and horse meat. It seems to me, however, that soom the Arab countries will be added to the list of our largest partners.

[Question] Would that mean a further increase in exports?

[Answer] As a rule, the plans provide for that; we, however, want to advance several years ahead of the predictions. We are aiming at achieving earnings on the order of half a million dollars as quickly as possible. This was not supposed to occur until 1990, but I think that as early as next year we should come considerably closer to that level.

[Question] I.e., two years earlier. What is the reason for this acceleration?

[Answer] It is a result of the growth in domestic livestock raising, and of an improvement in the price situation in world markets. For several previous years we noted a marked depression in prices, which was a consequence of the large stocks of meat accumulated in the EEC countries. These stocks have already dwindled, however, and so prices are going up—and we think that such a situation should also occur this year as well.

Finally, I would like to call your attention to the fact that just a 10 percent annual increase in exports would provide earnings of considerably more than \$550 million in 1990. And after all, last year our exports developed at a considerably faster rate.

[Question] You are an optimist, then.

[Answer] In trade, it is above all the commodity that decides. If we have the commodity, and thus if purchases still proceed as they have so far, then I think that in the near future, not only will coupons disappear, but "Animex" will also develop exports.

[Question] Where does the greatest potention lie?

[Answer] In the most expensive product lines. This is not just a question of the proverbial hams, though. It also applies to calves, or young sheep, for instance.

We are particularly concerned with developing exports of calves weighing up to 60 kilograms, which are sold in Italy and fed there with milk for so-called white meat. These are profitable exports, since we clear over \$2 for each kilogram of calves for slaughter. Last year we sold about 130,000 calves, but during that period private slaughter amounted to about one million! Howhere in the world are such young calves slaughtered as in Poland. We are trying to counter this, and among other things, for that purpose we have increased our purchase prices to 300 zlotys per kilogram, and we have hopes that calf exports will grow dynamically.

Increasing exports of sheep is also realistic. Last year they amounted to 550,000, and this year we are expecting them to increase to 700,000—and theoretically they could be increased to over a million annually. We are preparing slaughterhouses for the ritual slaughter of sheep, since these are the requirements of our Arab customers, and as a result of this we have hopes of a further expansion of these exports during the coming years.

Exports of horses and horse meat should also be increased. Last year they amounted to over 100,000 horses for slaughter and 40,000 tons of meat.

[Question] I have nothing left except to express my wish that your predictions will be fulfilled--especially in regard to cancelling the rationing of meat. Thank you for the interview.

9909 CSO: 2600/382 HILITARY INTRABLOC AFFAIRS

WARSAW PACT GROUND FORCES EQUIPMENT DESCRIBED

Field Communications Equipment

Frankfurt/Main SOLDAT UND TECHNIK in German No 2, Feb 87 pp 126-127

[Article: "Communications Equipment of the Warsaw Pact Ground Forces"]

[Text] The Miniature Radio Sets R-126, R-148 and R-392A

The ground forces of the Warsaw Pact countries employ small, handy and easy-to-use miniature radio sets for communications links up to the company level. These sets designed for radiotelephone operations work in the lower VHF range and generally have only one transmitter frequency band width. Because of their intended use, the power output is relatively meager and the range is limited to several kilometers. Miniature radio sets of various generations are in use simultaneously. Although new and more efficient sets are available, the older types remain in use as long as they are sufficient for the intended purpose. This behavior can also be observed in other ranges. Three miniature radio sets of different generations are presented below:

The oldest miniature radio set, the R-126, has been manufactured since 1962 and is still produced today. The R-148, which has been produced since 1980, can be termed its successor. The latest set of this kind is the R-392A, which is extremely similar to the R-148. Sets of this most up-to-date type are used by the Soviet forces in Afghanistan and were captured by the resistance fighters there. The three miniature radio sets can be operated only in combination with speaking equipment composed of a headset, microphone and speaking key, for they have no built-in loudspeakers. Additional points in common include the use of the Kulikov antenna and an electric power supply through rechargeable batteries.

Technical Data of the H-126

Frequency range: 48.5 to 51.0 MHz

Number of channels: three preset frequencies (Version 1)

three variable frequencies (Version 2)

Operating mode: radiotelephony (F3)

Power output: 0.5 watts
Range: 2 to 4 km

Power supply: Dimensions: Weight: 2 x 1.5-volt silver-zinc batteries 17.8 x 7.6 x 15.2 cm

2.8 kg

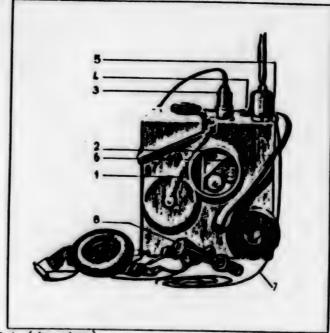


Figure 1. Miniature Radio Set (drawing)

Key:

- 1. Frequency scale
- 2. Frequency switch
- 3. Changeover switch for receiving/transmitting
- 4. On-off switch
- 5. Connection for counterweight
- 6. Frequency scale illumination switch
- 7. Counterweight
- 8. Throat microphone and headset

The miniature radio set R-126 is a VHF set for guaranteeing radiotelephone circuits between the company command and the platoons and squads. It is also utilized to lead antitank guided missile gunners of the weapons system AT-1/SNAPPER and AT-3/SAGGER in remote operations

There are two known versions of the R-126. The first version has only three available transmitter frequences and the second can be tuned to any frequency in the assigned transmitter frequency range. To reduce weight, the radio chassis is made of aluminum. Through the carrying strap with the set, it can be carried either on the belt or on the back. The operation of the R-126 is very simple, involving only the frequency setting and the actuation of the transmission button.

The disadvantages of the set are in the narrow transmitter frequency range, the few usable channels (Version 1 only), and high repair expenses, for it is not possible to exchange structural components. The short life of the batteries used is disadvantageous at low temperatures.

The miniature radio set R-148 serves to guarantee radiotelephone circuits in motorized rifle companies between the company commander and the platoon and squad leaders. The set is accommodated in a light alloy housing. The batteries are located in a detachable receptacle. This set as well can be carried on the back with the help of the four carrying straps belonging to the set.

In comparison with the R-126, the R-148 has a more up-to-date technology and a substantially greater transmitter frequency range. The R-148 also has the disadvantage of high repair costs, for it is likewise not possible to exchange structural components and it is only conditionally adapted to the military requirements in action.

Technical Data of the R-148

Frequency range: 37.0 to 51.95 MHz

Number of channels: 300 Channel spacing: 50 kHz

Operating mode: Radiotelephony (F3)
Power output: 1.1 to 2.1 watts

Range: 4 to 5 km

Power supply: 14 V DV batteries, rechargeable

Dimensions: 26 x 14 x 6 cm Weight: about 3 kg

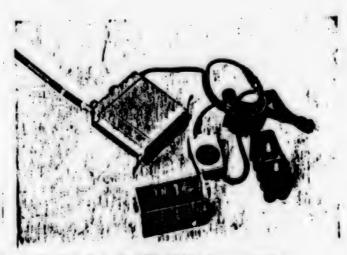


Figure 2. Miniature Radio Set R-148 With Accessories

Key:

- 1. Headset
- 2. Microphone with speaking key
- 3. Carrying strap
- 4. Radio set
- 5. Batteries
- 6. Kulikov antenna

The miniature radio set R-392A is a VHF set that is probably also used at the platoon and company level. In its external form, accessories and the position of the power supply section, it is very similar to the R-148. With about 2 MHz, however, the transmitter frequency range is very limited. With a channel spacing of 300 kHz, it probably has six fixed transmitter frequencies. The power output for this miniature radio set will also be 1 to 2 watts and the range under normal conditions is 2 to 3 km. The batteries used are probably likewise rechargeable.

Technical Data of the R-392A

Frequency range: about 44 to 46 MHz

Number of channels: at least 6 Channel spacing: 300 KHz

Operating mode: Radiotelephony (F3)

Power supply: Battery



Figure 3. Miniature Radio Set R-392A Captured in Afghanistan With Headset and Microphone As Well As Detached Battery Receptacle and Removed Batteries

Land Based Radar Equipment

Frankfurt/Main SOLDAT UND TECHNIK in German No 2, Feb 87 p 127

[Article: "Land-Based Radar Sets of the Warsaw Pact"]

[Text] Height-Finder Radar Sets

Autonomous height-finder radar sets are used in the Warsaw Pact to determine the exact height of air targets (Figure 1). Only in the interaction of the height finders with early-warning radar sets is all target information (direction, distance, height and speed) necessary for the air situation determined. Newer three-dimensional radar sets, however, are no longer dependent upon an autonomous height finder. The height finders in use have some typical characteristics. They utilize tall thin antennas (peel shaped) that greatly concentrate the electronic radiation in the perpendicular so as to achieve the most accurate height determination possible. The antenna scans the air space with a vertical sector scan. The resulting "nodding movement" characteristic for height finders is repeated 30 to 40 times a minute. Height finders can generally be revolved 360 degrees in the horizontal axis but there is no horizontal scanning. The operational ranges are about 200 km and the height finding range is about 32 km. Some height finders used in the Warsaw Pact are presented in the following.

SIDE NET (figures 2 and 3) is an older height finding radar first used in 1962. It is still in use today in combination with such early warning radar sets as BAR LOCK, TALL KING, BACK NET and others and can be found in the SA-2/GUIDELINE and SA-3/GOA antiaircraft rocket systems. SIDE NET is used on a two-axle trailer and is mounted so that it can revolve horizontally. The operating frequency is between 2,650 and 2,710 MHz, the effective range is 180 km, and the maximum measurable height is about 32 km.

THIN SKIN height finders are used together with early warning radar sets in tactical air defense positions and are also in use for the SA-4/GANEF and SA-6/GAINFUL antiaircraft rocket systems. The radar introduced in the mid-1960's operates in the H-band (6,000 MHz to 8,000 MHz).

There are two known versions of THIN SKIN (figures 4 and 5). There are differences in the carrier vehicle and in the antenna dimensions. THIN SKIN A is used on a two-axle trailer whereas the THIN SKIN B is mounted on a KrAZ truck with box body.

ODD PAIR (Figure 6) is a newer radar that first appeared in 1972. It is easily identifiable through its two antennas of different sizes. The main antenna serves in determining height and the smaller one in side lobe suppression. The set mounted on a two-axle trailer also performs the typical nodding movement. ODD PAIR is used with antiaircraft rocket systems and in the vecinity of airfields. It may replace the older SIDE NET.

GATE POLE (Figure 7) is a height finder produced in Poland. It is used together with the FARM GATE surveillance radar, likewise developed in Poland, in connection with SA-3/GOA antiaircraft rocket systems.

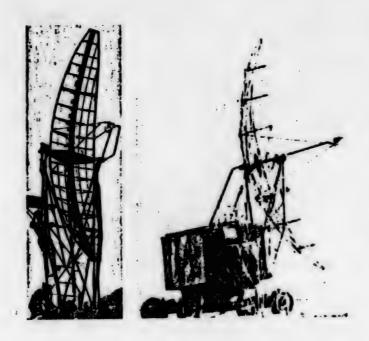


Figure 1

Figure 2

Figure 1. Characteristic Antenna Shape for Height Finders (THIN SKIN)
Figure 2. SIDE NET in Operating Position. Antenna Dimensions 8.5 x 3.55 m.

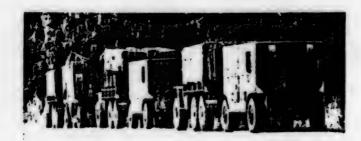


Figure 3. SIDE NET on the March. Equipment and Towing Vehicles With Antenna Trailer, Generator Trailer and Operating Trailer

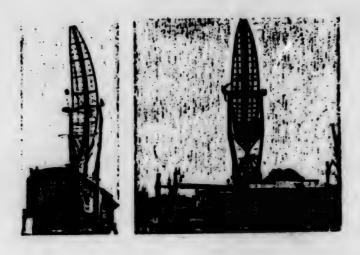


Figure 4

Figure 5

Figure 4. THIN SKIN A in Operating Position Figure 5. THIN SKIN B in Operating Position

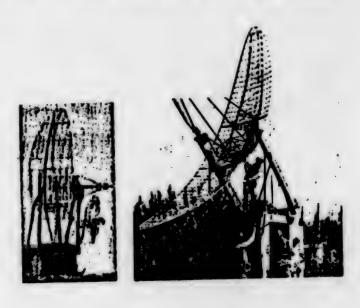


Figure 6

Figure 7

Figure 6. ODD PAIR in Operating Position

Figure 7. GATE POLE of the PVA in the Establishment of Operation Readiness.
The Layout Reminds One of the Soviet SIDE NET. The FARM GATE
Surveillance Radar Can Be Recognized in the Background.

9746

CSO: 2300/246

U.S. REPORTED DEVELOPING NEW ATTACK AIRCRAFT

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 26 Jan 87 p 4

[Unattributed article: "In the World of Weapons"]

[Text] The U.S. Air Force is preparing a new generation of aircraft which will replace the best model up to now the F-15 Eagle. The "superaircraft" of the 90s must possess a sensor device which will detect the target and hold it in sight far beyond the limit of human vision; it must reply to verbal commands; it must "evade" the most advanced radars; it must be able to take off and land on runways much shorter than required for today's combat aircraft.

Of the seven firms that began the battle 3 years ago to win the contract, only two remain, Lockheed and Northrop. Over the following 50 months, the two companies chosen by the Pentagon will work out on a drawing board and in laboratories the light carbon-based fiber elements and electronic devices and will test out the performance of the future models in thousands of experiments in aerodynamic tunnels. In 1991, the prototypes must be ready for testing.

The winner among the two competitors will bring back to its company orders for over 750 of its "brothers." However, having learned from its previous ties with the military industrial complex, the Pentagon has kept the right to incorporate in a future contract two obligatory clauses: the spare parts are to be the cheapest possible and the serially-produced aircraft are to conform to the quality of the prototype.

10272 CSO: 2200/51 HILITARY BULGARIA

U.S. B-18 BOMBER EVALUATED

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 28 Jan 87 p 4

[Article by Engr-Col Boxhidar Barbanakov: "The B-1B -- A Limping Program"]

[Text] The U.S. Strategic Air Force Command was spurring on the producer. 1 October 1986 was set as the date when the first squadron of supersonic B-1B strategic bombers would be combat ready at Dyess Air Base in Texas. The date was actually kept, but the pilots and technicians from the 337th Squadron of the 96th Heavy Bomber Air Wing were not very confident of the new 19 aircraft which Rockwell International had hurriedly delivered to Dyess.

Even the first flights showed a significant leaking of fuel from the body tanks as well as from those located in the wing of the superbomber. The situation was serious. Flights for training purposes were drastically limited and technical crews from Rockwell International and subcontracting firms immediately set to locating the leaks in the fuel system of the B-1B.

The problem smelled more of a scandal than it did of kerosene. Even in 1970, these firms were well aware of the problem of the leaking in the tanks of these bombers. In spite of this, 19 serially-produced bombers arrived at Dyess Base, immediately arousing the valid suspicions of the personnel. There were warnings of the leaking of fuel, the result of poor quality work. The main producer and the subcontractors did not contest the complaint and immediately agreed to pay an indemnity. As can be seen from the announcements by the crews at Dyess Base, the problems with the fuel tanks of the B-1B increase during low-altitude flights. In spite of these alerts, the U.S. Strategic Air Force Command reported on 1 October 1986 that the 337th Squadron of the 96th Heavy Bomber Air Wing was combat ready.

Leaks are leaks, but plans are plans. By the end of the year, there were to be 29 aircraft at Dyess Base. These aircraft will also be delivered to other U.S. strategic aviation bases along with the problems which have existed for years.

It must be pointed out that the B-1B is 44 tons heavier than the B-1A which weighed 194 tons. Naturally, this influences its combat performance. It turns out that the "flying lemon," as the magnzine U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT has called the new bomber, cannot operate fully loaded at a ceiling below

7,000 m. It has even been pointed out that the B-1B cannot even be compared with the B-52 "Flying Fortress" which served American strategic aviation so well. In addition, while the prototype of the B-1A was estimated to cost \$150 million, the price of one example of the B-1B has jumped to \$265 million and everything points to the fact that this is not the end. Everything is constantly having to be corrected. At the moment, the Pentagon has assigned \$119 million to eliminate the flaws in the B-1B program, calling this item in the expenditures... "research and development."

Among the flight and technical personnel, the B-1B is known as the "flying lemon." Possibly because, as the commander of the U.S. Strategic Aviation, Gen Lawrence Scantze, has stated, there is a great deal of "bitterness" in this program brought about by excessive hurry.

10272 CSO: 2200/51 U.S. NAVY CAPACITY, MOVEMENTS MONITORED

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 22 Jan 87 p 4

[Article prepared by Hariya Neykova and Capt Ivan Genov: "The U.S. Armed Forces -- A Weapon of Aggression"]

[Text] The Havy -- The Focus of Neoglobalism

The most convenient sphere for utilizing force from the military-political and geographic viewpoint -- this is how American imperialism views the seas. The power approach of the current administration is reflected both in the development and purpose of the navy. In 1981, a so-called Maval Reconstruction Program was adopted and this was initiated by President Reagan with the aim of having the U.S. Mavy in the 1990s possess 600 units (without counting the large number of ships in the reserve).

The effective strength of the American Navy is conceived of in two parts: the naval strategic nuclear missile system (MSNMS) with the basic component of the nuclear ballistic missile submarines (NBMS) and general-purpose forces (aircraft carriers and other surface fighting ships, the multipurpose torpedo submarines, ground attack bomber aviation and ASW aviation).

At present, the NSNMS according to certain data, consists of 37 NBMS which carry 640 strategic missiles with around 6,000 nuclear warheads. The share of sea-based warheads is 48.7 percent of the total number of warheads in the U.S. strategic "triad."

In January of last year, a report was published by the then U.S. Haval Chief of Staff, Adm James Watkins. In this document of American naval strategy, one can see the aggressive focus of the U.S. Havy, when "the international situation may grow into a global confrontation between the superpowers" as well as regional conflicts.

This "universality" makes the importance of the Mavy even greater. It must carry out both strategic missions as well as in peacetime apply political pressure on the sovereign states, participate in suppressing the national liberation movements and demonstrate the military might of the United States. Precisely this has been the mission since 1981 of the U.S. aircraft carriers and ships of the line. At the moment the ship of the line "Iowa" and the ship

"Yorktown" are off the coasts of Micaragua. Soon construction is to be commenced on two more carriers, the "Abraham Lincoln" and "George Washington."

In the postwar period, according to American data, the United States has employed armed force for foreign policy purposes in around 20 instances, with 80 percent of the instances involving the Navy. The trend which is to be maintained, as well as the doctrine of "neoglobalism," are characterized not only by threats and blackmail but also direct military intervention and the instigating of local conflicts and wars.

[Factual Information]

One "Ohio" submarine presently carries as much fire power as was unleashed during the sixth most terrible years in human history, in World War II.

Around 25 years after the commissioning of the first version of a naval strategic nuclear missile system, the United States is developing the sixth generation of its strategic missile, the Trident-2, which is to come into service in 1989. The Trident-2 (D-5) missile will have a range of 11,000 km, and a multiple reentry vehicle with 14 individually targetable warheads of 150 kilotons each (with a variation of 7 warheads of 600 kilotons) and an accuracy of 90 m.

On March 1983, the ship of the line "New Jersey" demonstrated the power of its weapons and missiles (the nuclear Tomahawk cruise missiles and the ASW Harpoon missiles) off the coasts of Nicaragua.

In 1983, the "New Jersey" leveled its guns with a caliber of 406-mm (the shells weigh up to 1,225 kg) against peaceful villages on the Lebanese coast.

In the autumn of 1985, the "Iowa" entered the Baltic Sea where impressive NATO exercises were being organized.

In June 1985, there was a significant concentration of U.S. naval forces and marine subunits along the Lebanese coast.

In October 1985, the diverting of an Egyptian aircraft by carrier-based aviation of the 6th Fleet in the area of the island of Sicily.

In March 1986, participation of the 6th Fleet in the attack on Libya.

In 1986, the "New Jersey" participated in the American maneuvers off the coast of the Philippines and Thailand and operated in the Sea of Japan.

A Pirate Arsenal of the End of the 20th Century

The marking on the aircraft based on board the aircraft carriers "Nimitz" is the pirate's emblem of a skull and crossbones. This evil sign with full justification can serve as the emblem of the U.S. Navy and which Washington has traditionally employed in the first waves of any type of military adventure or act of state terrorism. At the launching of the battleship "New Jersey," President Reagan states: "Supremacy at sea is a necessity for us.

We must control the airspace, the surface of the sea and its depths in order to guarantee access to any oceans of the world." Such are the imperial ambitions of the American administration. For precisely this reason the United States is planning to increase the size of its Navy up to 600 units by the start of 1990 and including: 41 missile rocket-carrying submarines of the "Ohio" class, 15 aircraft carriers, 4 battleships, 3 missile cruisers, more than 200 destroyers and so forth. The emphasis is on maximum arming of the fleet with nuclear weapons.

The Standard of Banditry

Along the banks of the Potomac they are endeavoring to depict last year's direct aggression by the United States against an independent Libya as an "action of self-defense." In reality, the cold-blooded act of state terrorism which caused death to innocent victims was a regular crime of American imperialism carried out after extended and careful preparations. Proof of this is the scale of the bandit operation involving the forces of the U.S. Armed Services (particularly the Navy) as is shown in the diagram [not reproduced]: 1. The F-111 fighter bombers (18 in number), 2. KS-10 and KS-135 tanker aircraft (48 in number), 3. reconnaissance satellite, 4. radio reconnaissance aircraft, 5. EP-3 Orion aircraft for rescue work, 6. the F-14 Toucat carrier-based fighters for a cover, 7. destroyers, 8. the flagship, the carrier "America," 9. E-2C Hawkeye AWACS aircraft, 10. the aircraft carrier "Coral Sea," 11. helicopters (4 in number), 12. EF-111A jammer aircraft, 13. F-18 Hornet air cover aircraft, 14. EA-6B Prowler ECM aircraft, 15. carrierbased A-6E Intruder ground attack aircraft (12 in number), 16. A-7E Corsair and F-18 Hornet aircraft for attacking antiaircraft missile systems with antiraider Harm and Shrike missiles, 17. submarine of the "Los Angeles" class on combat patrol.

10272 CSO: 2200/51 HILITARY BULGARIA

FRANCE SAID TO SECRETLY DELIVER WEAPONS TO IRAN

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 27 Jan 87 p 4

[Unattributed article from own information: "Secret Deliveries"]

[Text] France. The French firm Lucher for a period of over 3 years (from 1983 to 1985) has secretly been delivering weapons to Iran. According to the Paris weekly EXPRESS, 450,000 shells "officially" destined to Brazil, Ecuador and Peru were delivered to the Iranian harbor of Bandar Abbas. Cases with the ammunition were loaded at the French port of Cherbourg on ships flying a foreign flag and which carried false documents. The investigation conducted by the General Army Control, EXPRESS noted, established that a number of leaders in the Ministry of Defense knew of the secret weapons deliveries to Iran.

10272 CSO: 2200/51 MILITARY

EDITORIAL STRESSES SIGNIFICANCE OF COMPUTERS FOR MILITARY USE

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 30 Jan 87 pp 1, 2

[Article by Lt Gen Yako Molkhov: "Creativity, Professionalism and a Comprehensive Approach"]

[Text] In his final speech during the February Plenum (1985), Comrade Todor Zhivkov emphasized: "At present we possess a much clearer national strategy for carrying out the scientific and technical revolution." The 13th BCP Congress not only affirmed this strategy but also outlined the approaches and means for carrying out the scientific and technical policy of our country.

The experience of the previous period has confirmed the notion of the role of modern technologies and particularly electronic technologies as the starting point for a new approach in all spheres of social activity. The ongoing, rapid development of electronic equipment ensures the exceptionally rapid introduction of informatics. New means for the processing and transmitting of data are being employed evermore widely. Information technologies are being developed on the basis of computer and particularly microprocessor equipment both in production as well as in all spheres of management.

All of this is of particular importance for the army communists. The development of military affairs and the experience of local wars show that the combat capabilities of the armed forces under present-day conditions are determined not so much and not only by the capabilities of the men and weapons but also by the quality of the control system. This is why the Minister of National Defense, Army Gen Dobri Dzhurov, has set the task of significantly increasing the combat might and readiness of the BWA [Bulgarian People's Army] on the basis of electronization and full automation.

In recent years, new development has been observed in the ideas of developing and employing large computers in various spheres of social activity, including in the military area. The realization of a network of computers and particularly a network of large computers would make it possible to ensure effective use of computer resources by an even distribution of the load between the machines connected to the network, in establishing collective data bases to which all users of the given network would have access.

As is known, the plans of our 13th BCP Congress aim at establishing a united network of computer resources (OMIR) on the basis of large computers of a single series and their analogues. The system would include 11 computer centers of which 10 would be in Sofia and 1 in Veliko Turnovo. It is anticipated that by the end of 1987, around 25 of the powerful computer centers in the capital will be in the system. This will provide broad terminal access for the centers connected to the network as well as the use of various applied programs and data bases related to economic, social and scientific research activities.

One of the present trends in the development of large computers is the development of super-large computers with an enormous on-line memory and great speed. According to the Comprehensive Program for Scientific and Technical Progress in the CEMA Member Nations, for achieving the main goal of a cardinal rise in labor productivity, the saving of resources, materials and energy and the acceleration of scientific and technical progress in the national economy, in this area for achieving the task a new generation of super-large computers is to be developed with a speed of over 10 billion operations a second.

These machines will provide for the creation of a data base in them, the realization of a natural man-machine dialogue, the setting up of expert systems and the introduction of the principles of artificial intelligence. They will be used for solving particularly complex scientific problems, in managing the economy, for complete modeling of combat operations on a real-time scale as well as complex peacetime command and control activities of the troops.

In 1965, the first minicomputer appeared with a memory of 45 words. The minimachines quickly found wide use in industrial systems, scientific experiments and for military purposes. The first field computer centers in the NATO armies were based on the minicomputer. Later there was a switch to the development of a family of military minimachines. In addition to this, the minicomputers form a part of the local equipment and distribution computer networks for the large computer facilities. It is easy to connect to the minimachines diverse peripheral devices and their software is developing rapidly with problem-oriented languages and systems.

In terms of their capabilities, certain modern minicomputers have already reached and surpassed the capabilities of a number of large computers. At present, we have begun producing the 32-digit minicomputer IZOT-1055S which has enormous capability.

The development and introduction of diverse peripheral equipment for the minicomputers, particularly plotters and digitizers, significantly expand their employment in creating automated design systems in the area of machine building, construction, electronics and so forth. Experience shows that in these areas, automation shortens the design process by several fold and accelerates the introduction of the new developments.

The capabilities of microcomputers to solve universal management problems including information and calculation, peacetime and wartime, operational-tactical and rear, for control and command of the troops and weapons systems

and for improving the training facilities have led to their employment in all the armed services, branches of troops and services. They hold a worthy place in the work of both the senior as well as the junior command and control elements. Of particular importance is their introduction into weapons systems and other combat equipment. This sharply increases the capabilities of the weapons.

The programming of microcomputers to solve individual independent problems is assuming a mass nature. In addition to officer personnel, a significant part of the rank and file of the BNA is involved in it. In a number of instances the capabilities of introduced microcomputers are being successfully employed by setting up various local computer networks.

Significant results have been achieved as a result of this. The effectiveness and accuracy of control of the fire and strikes of a number of weapons have been increased by several fold. The electronization of training facilities with the aid of microprocessor devices and systems creates conditions for significantly intensifying the training process. The development of troop control in all levels of command and control is showing new growth. The computer training of officer personnel and particularly the students and officer candidates in the military schools has improved significantly.

As in any new undertaking, weaknesses of growth are to be found here, too. The demand for accelerated progress requires that we rapidly get rid of these and provide an accelerated solution to the problems on the basis of the most recent achievements. In this regard, we might mention the limited employment in certain instances of the great capabilities of the microcomputers. A part of the solved problems examine various processes and carry out limited (most often computational) routine activities in an autonomous mode. This is determined by the capability of the elaborated software. The reason for this is to be found in the insufficient creative involvement of highly skilled military specialists in the programming processes. This most frequently leads to the elaboration of problems which repeat the existing manual control techniques.

From the start which has been mastered, good conditions are being established for a new qualitative jump and for moving on to a new stage in the employment of computers and particularly microcomputers. In first place is the question of a sharp increase in the number of worked out and introduced programs. Research indicates that the basis for this exists but the most difficult is the process of formalizing the various management processes and activities as well as their algorithmization. There is no process or activity which cannot be programmed if this is studied profoundly and thoroughly, if it is described and algorithmized. Here experience affirms that with microcomputers programming itself is an easier problem. For working out effective programs it is essential that the description and partially the work of algorithmization be carried out by highly skilled military specialists who are completely familiar with the essence of the control activities which will be automated.

This does not mean that we must restrict the wide involvement of the remaining officer personnel and rank and file. But they must be put in charge of the direct programming work in following well explained and formalized activities.

Another area for improving the work of the software support is the use of effective systems programs and particularly ready-made packs of applied programs. This will significantly simplify and accelerate the elaboration of applied programs. Here of important significance will be the choice of a modern instrumentarium for programming and the elaboration of applied programs with wide capabilities and programs which best employ the capabilities of the given microcomputer equipment, that is, for transmitting and receiving textual and graphic information, for control by verbal information and so forth.

Both with large computers, with the microcomputers the principle of their employment is an autonomous mode by establishing automated work areas (ARM). A new, higher stage is the connecting of these into local networks. This creates the possibility of establishing a distributed information system for various work areas, for quick exchange of data between various command bodies and officials and for significantly widening the information servicing. the literature various topologies are known for linking the automated work areas into local computer networks depending upon the capabilities of the microcomputers and the needs of the users. The choice of each of these must be subordinate to the requirement of improving the control of the given control element and so forth. Here it is essential to bear in mind that the local networks with larger functional capabilities are very expensive. this reason the creating of computer networks must be approached very carefully and after a thorough preliminary study, in avoiding an unnecessary complicating of the problems and the connections between the individual automated work areas. In practice there have been instances when for certain needs instead of a computer network preference has been given to a minicomputer with a network of terminals and this for almost the same price provides greater functional and computational capability. For this reason in each specific instance the alternative of a minicomputer with terminals and a computer network must be thoroughly and completely assessed.

The local computer networks can be organized on several levels and interconnected. This provides the possibility of greater detailing and distribution of information according to the control levels and executors. Here an automated work area of a chief of an inferior level can be an element in a local network of his senior chief. In this manner it is possible to request, transmit and utilize information which is kept in the automated work areas of subordinates.

The individual microcomputers can be linked up to large of minicomputers, while the terminals or the local computer network of microcomputers can be connected to a mini or large computer located in the area of a control post. That is, the local computer network can consist of just microcomputers or be connected to mini or large computers. In addition, a network of microcomputers can be connected with the mini or large computer located at another control post a significant distance away. Then a regional diverse computer network is obtained. This creates the possibility of utilizing the enormous capabilities of the mini or large computers by the automated work

areas in solving various control problems. This method of employing the microcomputers, however, requires complex, systems and applied software as well as a system for transmitting digital information.

This stage in the development of the use of computer equipment requires new conditions for their programming. It sharply reduces the possibilities of the nonspecialist programmers in the development of highly intelligent, complex software worked out on a highly professional level. For this purpose analysts, systems programmers and so forth will be chiefly involved. They must create the basic, most important part of the system and applied support. At the same time, the work of the nonspecialists must be employed in working out individual program products by assignment. Thus we arrive at the logic of creating specific program collectives.

The method of data exchange between the automation equipment places new, high demands on the transmission system including high capacity and resistance to interference. The use of analogue-base communications systems for transmitting and distributing the information do not satisfy these requirements. The analogue equipment for transmission and switching the information must be replaced by the employment of digital systems.

The mass introduction of computer equipment and specifically microcomputer equipment in control processes imposes new, high demands on the style and methods of control of the commanders and the staffs. It is essential to gradually develop work methods which meet the capabilities of the employed computer equipment. Effectiveness in the employment of this equipment can be achieved when it becomes a component part of the control cycle. Consequently, it is essential to improve the methods of control both for the troops and the weapons systems in which computer and microcomputer equipment is a component element.

For example, each decision is taken by the solely responsible commander but is worked out collectively. The necessity of collective decision taking, as a rule, requires the personal contact of the commander with his immediate assistants. For this reason to one or another degree a number of superiors for an extended time leave the commander's workplace and regardless of the measures taken are absent from the immediate command of subordinates. The development of a computer network and a video system provides great opportunities in this regard for the contact of subordinates with a superior by submitting the required data over technical devices and contact over the video system without leaving their control posts.

The introduction of new weapons systems equipped with automation and the improvement of troop command have made fundamental changes in the forms and methods of conducting armed combat. In the NATO armies great hopes have been placed on high-precision weapons such as reconnaissance-attack systems and so forth. In line with this the so-called theory of airland battle has arisen. This raises new highly responsible tasks for military scientific research.

Practice confirms the validity of employing various types of computers for different control elements and for solving problems which differ in terms of complexity, scope and other indicators. Also indisputable is the role of the

large and super-large computers for carrying out complex engineering and economic problems involved in modeling important peacetime and wartime processes. The minicomputers have a definite place in solving the problems of full automation. The rapid growth of their capability, the reduction in size and the connecting of new peripheral devices establish these as an important component in the hardware of automated systems.

The appearance of microcomputers has truly created the possibility of automating the control of individual work areas and inferior control elements. Automation is directly reaching the individual executor. And most importantly, the material conditions have been created for moving from the autonomous employment of the computer to the setting up of automated control systems where the entire process and all activities involved in collecting the primary information, its transmission, processing and storage will be automated.

A comprehensive approach to the problems of automation requires along the way that we find a skillful combination of diverse electronic equipment depending upon its capability and the requirements of the command bodies. This is reflected most clearly in the decisions of the December Plenum of the BCP Central Committee (1986) concerning the scientific-technical and socioeconomic development of the nation during the Ninth Five-Year Plan. Here it states: "We envisage the more rapid development of electronics.... The main technological breakthroughs in the area of electronic systems can be seen in the creation of a modular hardware-software base, including: professional 16-32-digit microcomputers, 32-digit minicomputers, and highly productive computer systems with a data processing speed up to 500 million operations a second."

10272 CSO: 2200/57

ADMISSION REGULATIONS TO NONCOMMISSIONED OFFICER SCHOOLS

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 22 Jan 87 p 2

[Directive Governing the Admission of Students to NCO Secondary Military Schools in the 1987-1988 Academic Year]

[Text] 1. Applicants to NCO secondary military schools may be young men who meet the following conditions:

Have a correct political orientation;

Are Bulgarian citizens;

Are fond of military service and wish to make it their career;

Are active members of the Komsomol;

Are physically healthy:

Are not married;

Have been recommended by the commander of a unit (for reenlisted personnel);

Have no criminal record and not be under indictment and investigation;

Must have completed the 8th grade, the first level of the ESPU [unified secondary school] or the 11th grade;

Applicants with a completed 8th-grade education must be no older than 17, those who have completed the first level of the ESPU and a completed secondary education must not be over 21. Age is figured as of 15 September 1987;

Have exemplary conduct.

- 2. The period of instruction in the NCO secondary military schools is:
- a. The G. Izmirliev NCO Secondary Military School [SSVI] in Gorna Oryakhovitsa: 2 years for young men who have completed the first level of the ESPU (10th grade) and for persons who have completed their secondary

education, volunteers and reenlisted personnel of the BNA [Bulgarian People's Army]; 3 and 4 years for young men who have completed 8th grade.

- b. The NCO Secondary Military Artillery School [SSVAU] under the G. Dimitrov VNVAU [Higher People's Military Artillery School] in Shumen: 2 years for young men who have completed the first level of the ESPU (10th grade) and who have completed their secondary education, for volunteers and reenlisted personnel from the BNA; 4 years for young men with a complete 8th grade.
- c. The NCO Secondary Air Force School [SSVVU] under the G. Benkovski VNVVU [Higher People's Air Force School] in Dolna Mitropoliya: 4 years for young men with a complete 8th grade.
- d. The Anton Ivanov Warrant Officer [Michman] Secondary Military School [VSVMU] in Varna: 2 years for young men with a complete secondary education who are volunteers and reenlisted personnel from Navy ships.
- e. The Maestro G. Atanasov NCO Secondary Military School [SSVMU] in Sofia: 4 years for young men with a completed 8th grade.
- 3. Student applicants are to submit through the people's councils or military directorates to the chief of the NCO secondary military school to which they are applying (to the chief of the higher military school to which the NCO school is subordinate) the following documents:

An application;

A competitive card on which the student applicant without fail ranks the desired specialties in the order in which he wishes to be classified or ranked;

An autobiography;

A diploma showing a completed secondary education, a certificate for a complete first level of the ESPU (10th grade) or 8th grade (an officially notarized copy can be submitted):

A birth certificate;

A recommendation from the people's council;

A certificate showing no criminal record;

Pedagogical recommendation from the school;

A declaration from the student applicant that he promises to serve at least 10 years in the BNA (BGA [Bulgarian Civil Airlines]) after completing the school. For applicants with a basic education (8th grade), the declaration is to be signed by the parents and if there are no parents, by guardians;

A document showing the right to preferential admission (if such exists).

The documents of reenlisted personnel propose to apply to the NCO secondary military school, along with the health booklet, a copy of the military service record showing imposed penalties and granted commendations and a service recommendation are to be forwarded by the commanders to the military directorates from where the young men have been sent to service.

4. The dates for submitting the documents to the military schools are as follows:

Prior to 4 June for those who have completed their secondary education prior to 1987 and for reenlisted personnel;

Prior to 16 July for all who have completed their education in 1987.

5. Applicants from the 8th grade for the G. Izmirliev SSVU, the SSVAU in Shumen and the SSVVU in Dolna Mitropoliya are to take a written competitive exam in mathematics on material studied up to the 8th grade inclusively.

Applicants for the SSVMU are to take a competitive exam in solfege and a special subject: a woodwind (not including the flute, oboe and bassoon) and a percussion instrument according to the admission program for secondary musical schools.

- 6. The student applicants are to take a regular medical examination and testing for psychophysiological qualities.
- 7. Each applicant has the right to apply for all specialties in two NCO military schools with one in the first group and one in the second group. The first group of NCO schools includes the SSVVU in Dolna Mitropoliya, the SSVAU in Shumen and the Anton Ivanov MSVMU in Varna, and the second group includes the G. Izmirliev SSVU in Gorna Oryakhovitsa and the Maestro G. Atanasov SSVMU in Sofia.

The young men who apply to two NCO schools are to submit their documents to the first, in indicating in them the second to which they have applied; to the second they should submit an application and the competitive card on which they indicate to which SSVU they have submitted the remaining documents.

- 8. The time for reporting of the applicants and the holding of the exams is as follows:
- a. For the first group of SSVU:

Reporting of the applicants prior to 1400 hours on 17 August 1987;

Testing of psychophysiological qualities of the applicants, a medical review and the written exam in mathematics for applicants of the 8th grade according to the schedule of the corresponding school.

The admissions commissions for the first group of schools are to complete their work no later than 24 August 1987.

b. For the second group of SSVU:

Reporting of the applicants prior to 0800 hours on 2 September 1987;

The testing of the psychophysiological qualities of the applicants, medical examination and written exam in mathematics for the G. Izmirliev SSVU and the competitive exam in solfege and a special subject at the Maestro G. Atanasov SSVMU according to the schedule of the corresponding school.

The admission commissions in the second group of schools are to complete their work no later than 6 September 1987.

The results of the written exam in mathematics are to be announced immediately after the reviewing of the written works. The announced grades are final. There is to be no reexamination or regrading.

Student applicants are to report for the exam with their passport (Komsomol booklet).

- 9. Student applicants for specialties with a 2-year period of instruction do not take a competitive exam but are ranked by the number of points formed by the totaling of the following grades:
- a) For those who have completed 11th grade: the overall grade on the diploma for a complete education;

The grade on the diploma in Bulgarian and mathematics.

b) For those who have completed the first level of the ESPU:

The mathematical average grade of the 9th and 10th grades for Bulgarian, mathematics and physics.

For a 3- and 4-year course of instruction, the number of points is formed as for those who completed 11th grade, in adding a doubled grade from the competitive mathematics examination.

The applicants for the Maestro G. Atanasov SSVMU are ranked by the number of points formed from:

The overall grade on the certificate for a completed 8th grade;

The doubled grade from the competitive exam in solfege;

A tripled grade in the special subject.

- 10. The admission commissions rank the student applicants on the basis of the obtained number of points and the priorities which they have, in order of the specialties indicated by the student applicant.
- 11. The admitted students are informed in writing by the appropriate SSVU. The students are obliged to report to the school prior to 1400 hours on

14 September 1987 while those admitted to the Anton Ivanov VSVMU (not including reenlisted personnel), prior to 1400 hours on 27 August 1987.

If admitted students do not report at the designated time to the appropriate SSVU, their places are filled by applicants from the reserves according to the order of ranking.

- 12. In admitting students to the SSVU, priority is given to the following:
- a. Sons of the active fighters against fascism and capitalism and of servicemen who died in carrying out their official duty. These compete among themselves for 10 percent of the places.
- b. Sons of servicemen in the BNA and those servicemen in the reserve him have served at least 15 years of regular service in the BNA; these are to compete for 15 percent of the places.
- c. Sons of employees of the Balkan BGA (pilots and technicians) from the Central Directorate of the Ministry of Transport and who have served at least 10 regular years in these departments; they are to compete for 10 percent of the places in the corresponding specialty at the Dolna Mitropoliya SSVU.
- d. Applicants from the border districts in Southern Bulgaria are to compete for 15 percent of the places.

Places set aside for applicants with priority and not filled by them in the course of the ranking are to be filled in the order of the number of points of the applicants who do not have priority.

e. Without competing, admission is granted to young men (if they meet the remaining requirements) who have ranked in the republic mathematics competitions.

The Maestro G. Atanasov SSVMU grants priority admission under Point 12, letters "a," "b" and "d" with other conditions being equal.

13. Travel and food are at the expense of the applicants while lodging is organized for them by the SSVU.

Reenlisted applicants may travel under military travel documents and sign up for food upon presentation of the food card.

- 14. Those who complete a SSVU are considered to have a civilian secondary (specialized secondary) education, a completed military service and a skill in accord with the curriculum.
- 15. The documents of unadmitted applicants, with the exception of the reserves, are to be returned to the military directorates within a 3-day period after the announcing of results.

16. For the applicants of the Maestro G. Atanasov SSVMU, a preparatory course for a curriculum drawn up by the school is to be organized from 25 August until 1 September 1987.

This directive is published on the basis of Chapter III of the Regulation Governing the SSVU in the Bulgarian People's Army.

10272 CSO: 2200/51 POLITICS ALBANIA

ANNIVERSARY OF STALIN'S DEATH COMMENCEATED

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 5 Mar 87 pp 1, 3

[ATA report]

[Text] On the occasion of the 34th anniversary of the death of J.V. Stalin, outstanding 'sarxist-Leninist, faithful pupil and worthy continuer of the brilliant work of Lenin, various commemorative activities took place in Stalin City. In the economic enterprises, schools and military units of this city there were conferences on "Stalin, a great friend of the Albanian people" and "Stalin, the great proletarian internationalist, outstanding strategist of the great patriotic struggle of the Soviet peoples." In the "18 November" cultural house, a photographic exhibit presenting the life and revolutionary activity of J.V. Stalin has opened.

Schoolchildren, who have been attending a conference on the struggle of the Albanian Workers Party to protect the work of Stalin from the attacks, slanders and distortions of the modern revisionists, visited the bust of J.V. Stalin in the center of the city of Shkoder. In the cultural house of the agricultural cooperative in Koplik, which bears the name of the great Stalin, there was a conference on the contribution of Stalin as an untiring militant for the defense, consistent execution and further development of the ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin. In various schools in this district, excerpts of the book by Comrade Enver Hoxha "Me Stalinin" (Kujtime) ["With Stalin" (Memoirs() are being studied.

In the cultural and folk creativity house in Elbasan District, pupils from the "Kozma Naska" intermediate industrial school attended a conference on the resolute struggle of J.V. Stalin for the protection of the purity of Marxism-Leninism. Similar conferences have been organized in cultural houses and centers in the villages of Zavalina, Shushica, Gostima, etc.

In the city of Delvina and in the square of the Bistrica hydroelectric power plant in Sarande District, where there are busts of Stalin, wreathes of flowers were laid. There were also activities in the "Stalin" agricultural cooperative in Musina, in Konispol and in other places in honor of the 34th anniversary of the death of J.V. Stalin.

/8309

CSO: 2100/36

POLITICS HUNGARY

CONTROLLED LOCAL REFERENDA PLANNED

Budapest ALLAM ES IGAZGATAS in Hungarian Feb 87 pp 118-124

[Article by Pal Furcht, Deputy Director of Main Department of the Council of Ministers' Office of Councils: "About Local Popular Referenda"]

[Text] 1. The institutionalization of and the creation of a legal framework for local referenda has been mentioned in different contexts in the course of debates at the forums of the Patriotic Popular Front over the past years. Thus, for instance, during the debates on the draft law regarding local authorities the Committee on Administration did push for the elaboration of referenda procedures in matters affecting communities in the context of the definition of the relationship between the councils, the local authorities, and the village assemblies. The Committee felt it was important to find a way, even in general terms, to develop the division of labor between representative institutions and direct democracy in deciding local issues, and how these two forms of democracy may relate to one another.

At the VIII Congress of the Patriotic Popular Front as well several speakers raised the issue of the possibility of enhancing direct democracy. Thus, in his intervention, Dr. Antal Adam emphasized: "It is commonly known that the Hungarian constitution does mention the referendum, yet since 1949 not even once has it been put into practice. It would be worthwhile to ponder over the possibility of institutionalizing various forms of referenda, first of all referenda to be held regarding solutions of problems common to a settlement, of the population's voluntary assumption of responsibility. For this purpose we would also have to regulate, at higher levels, the application of such referenda, the extent of participation, the manner of carrying it out." 1/

In his intervention at the Congress Dr. Lajos Papp stressed: "I am entirely in agreement with that part of the proposed opinion which intimates that direct democracy must play a much greater role at the settlement level. Forums which function in consonnance with the Popular Front, such as the village assembly, and councils meetings at the city district level and other similar proceedings are already available for this purpose. In my opinion, however, in the future, it would be advisable to hold local referenda more frequently in the case of issues regarding the fate of the entire settlement.... On two occasions in the recent past this procedure has demonstrated its utility, its persuasive and calming effect on the community. It seems to me we should work out a system jointly as soon as possible." 2/

In its program for the execution of the decisions of the XIII Party Congress the Office of Councils has placed the elaboration of local plebiscite as a task to be worked out. 3/ The first draft, a discussion of the issues and a draft law, was prepared already in 1985, and in December it was discussed at length by the heads of the organizational and legal sections of the counties and of the capital, and in March 1986 by the executive secretaries of the capital and the counties. A "preconcept" by the State Administration Organization Institute was likewise prepared, and was debated within the institute at the end of January 1986. In this case the official and institutional preparation took place independently from one another, along parallel lines, but this procedure had more advantages than disadvantages: it turned out that the approach of the institute was identical with the administrative approach on fundamental issues, while there were divergences in a number of areas; in these areas detailed argumentation finally led to a consensus. In May 1986 Pal Kara and Gyorgy Wiener presented the opinion formed on the backs of the debate in the institute. 4/

Most recently it was the Judicial Committee of the National Council of the Patriotic Front that debated the proposal regarding local referenda, as well as the draft which could become the basis for the draft law. It felt that a wider exchange of views on the subject would be warranted in order to reconcile and crystallize the views that are contradictory, the divergent opinions on many aspects of the issue. The Judicial Committee felt it would be particularly important to request and learn the views of the party branches, the Front and the council leaders—after all they are the ones most directly concerned. There has been general agreement in the course of the elaboration that the introduction of the principle of local referenda requires a central political approach. Such an approach, however, can be initiated only a sound basis, once the political, theoretical, and practical implication of the institution have been worked out. This has been and continues to be the aim of the preparations, and this is what justifies our survey of the main issues, and the pro and con arguments regarding specific solutions.

- 2. First of all we must outline the political theory aspects of the introduction of local referenda. All the more so since the basic requirement, a network of democratic institutions, has already been built; the objective now is to ensure that our existing institutions operate meaningfully, rather than introduce new institutions.
- -- One of the fundamental laws of our social progress is the development of socialist democracy, the enhancement of its practice. This process requires the continuous harmonious evolution of the forums of representative and direct democracy. To render the workings of the existing democratic institutions more meaningful constitutes a top priority. At the same time, however, this would not preclude enhancing our political mechanism by introducing a new institution if there is an actual demand for it and if the conditions are ripe. Local initiative, the progress of autonomous activities in ever expanding areas of social life--in the economy, culture, the beautification of settlements, the preservation of the environment, etc.--provide evidence that smaller communities do require and receive increasing autonomy to deal with their own affairs. It is precisely in this process that I see the progress

and main trend of democratic development today. From these premises we may assume that the direct participation of the population in settling affairs, as well as in settling the basic issues bearing upon the local community or the whole of the settlement may be expanded.

An important objective of progress in administration is to increase the autonomy of settlements, municipalities, communities. This process can be realized first of all by encouraging the autonomous activities of the local councils as people's representatives. All fundamental matters bearing upon the progress of settlements are decided by the representative bodies, by the councils. And they must do this in such a manyer that their decision will reflect popular views, correspond to the will of the people. The democratic forums already in existence are adequate to enable the councils to familiarize themselves with popular opinion. Yet it is not always possible to learn what is the opinion of the majority of the population through the forums, since only a fraction of the residents participate in these forums, except in the case of the smallest settlements. Therefore, if the council must decide on a fundamental issue bearing on the whole of the settlement, where the stand of the majority of the population is relevant, then a local referendum would serve the purpose.

- -- On the one hand local voting would ensure wide support for the council in carrying out its decision and, on the other hand, it would result in social control over the work of the council. The growth of local autonomy is an essential requirement of the concept of socialist democracy; the spread of jurisdiction of local authorities should go hand in hand with increased local control mechanisms. The true counterpart of the growth of local autonomy can only be effective local control (this does not preclude the need to render controls by organizations in the hierarchy more effective and more significant as well.) The referendum can become the form of local control. (I would say an example of such control would be: when the population is not in agreement with the settlement development objectives, it becomes necessary to formulate new and different objectives which do enjoy the support of the population.)
- -- Social practice demands the formation of a system of local voting. In several instances the community has voted in matters of territorial jurisdiction, particularly when a community is to become part of a larger municipality las in the case of Jozsa and Debrecen, Baj and Tata, Agostyan and Tata, kalocsa and Fokto), either rejecting or supporting the initiative. In such cases, as regards procedure, it was usually the election laws that were applied; yet, because of the differing nature of the issue at stake, these laws usually cannot provide the solution to the problem.
- -- It is also necessary to systematize the law for the sake of ensuring socialist legality. There is a social demand for local voting, and local voting does exist in practice. It is possible to make good use of this practice, but also to abuse it, particularly as a consequence of lack of regulation.
- -- It is generally recognized that the council bodies are increasingly assuming the role of harmonizers of interests. If there is a clash of interest on fundamental matters, it becomes justified to measure the attitude of the population, and if a clear picture does not emerge through the forums that already exist, a local referendum may well be the answer.

- 3. In accordance with our constitution the workers of the city and of the village exercise their power through elected representatives who are responsible to the people. The constitutional principle of the exercise of power is that the citizens also participate directly, at their workplace and place of residence, in settling matters of general interest. The following principles may be derived from the above constitutional tenets to help the work of preparing local referenda.
- a) The citizens exercise their political power through the people's representative bodies. The main issues affecting local society (the communities of towns or villages) fall within the jurisdiction of local councils, and must remain there; it is the councils that decide these issues, since they are the repositories of local power. The forums through which citizens participate directly in the administration of matters of general interest complement indirect democracy in an organic way. The councils have extended contacts with the population and its forums. The general population has become an active participant in the preparation of decisions, and supervises the work of the representative bodies through village meetings, district assemblies, reports presented by council members, visiting hours, gatherings of voters, residents' and street committees. Other forums organized by the committees of the Patriotic Front also contribute to the direct participation of the population in public affairs, such as polls, "debates of strata", political meetings at the town level. In addition to disseminating information these forums provide the opportunity for wide-ranging debates, as opposed to elections where decisions are signified with a yes or a no. The advantage of the above-mentioned forums is that divergent opinions can be formulated and these may clash, there is opportunity for convincing one another, a multilateral approach becomes possible. Consequently these forums play a most important role in providing contact between the councils and the residents, and this role will remain essential in the future as well, hence they should be maintained and expanded. In other words, local referenda would be resorted to only under the exceptional circumstances.

The functions of the above-mentioned forums are not in conflict with the introduction of local voting, they are not mutually exclusive. In practice it has happened--especially in case of proposals regarding jurisdictional reorganization--that the council concluded, on the basis of extensive meetings with local residents, that the population was divided and that it was impossible to determine where the majority lay by relying solely on the forums: in those cases only voting can provide the means for such a determination.

Consequently local referenda can only be an institution applied in exceptional cases. They cannot become a substitute for or replace the forums the councils use for direct contacts with the population. If it is possible to determine the stand of the majority of the population, whether in favor or against, on the basis of dialogue at various forums, then voting becomes superfluous.

b) The level of regulation by law elicited a lively discussion even at the meetings of the Judicial Committee. The proposal mentioned the fact that the draft rules may be included in the law governing the councils, or in the executive orders deriving from that law. The former can be carried out by an

order that has force of law, the latter by directives emanating from the Council of Ministers.

Those who intervened in the discussion argued that regulation by law would be most appropriate. Participation in public affairs can be considered a basic citizens' right, and the basic rights of the citizens, according to the constitution, have to be formulated within a legal framework; in fact, the principle of local referenda may be included among the tenets of the constitution.

- c) There is undoubtedly a connection between plebiscites at the national and plebiscites at the local levels, although the opinions regarding the relation differed. According to some, national and local plebiscites had to be regulated together, and only by law. According to others the issues of national plebiscites has not been examined as yet, whereas local voting can be worked out, there is genuine social demand for it, it is already visible in its outlines, a final decision can be prepared. Local plebiscites warrant a different set of regulations from national ones, and may be introduced independently from a system of national plebiscite.
- 4. There is agreement regarding the fact that only the most fundamental, civil rights aspects of local referenda need be regulated, and even that only in the most flexible manner, avoiding overregulation. Agreement must be reached on the following major theoretical issues:
- a) Local referenda could be essentially a matter of asking the local population for its opinion, or it could be in the nature of deciding a certain issue or of confirming a decision already taken. Since there already are a number of effective forums for polling the population, the aforementioned proposal and the ensuing debate concentrated on the principle of the local referendum as a mechanism for reaching a decision. In such a case the decision-taker practically "hands over" its authority to the voters, and the voters reach a decision by means of their vote. Thus, according to our concept, local referenda would actually decide over matters submitted to them.
- b) In general, or in a specific instance, the local referendum could be declared by law, by a directive having the force of law, by an order of the ministerial council, or by the local council.

According to the proposal, it would not be advisable at present to make local referenda mandatory in specific cases by a higher level legal directive, but rather the local councils should be entrusted with proclaiming referenda whenever they feel it is necessary. The debate confirmed that this should be the guiding principle but that, in certain cases (for instance, when jurisdictions are to be united, or a joint council organized) local referenda should become mandatory. Furthermore, the legal directive should also mention the issues that may be submitted to local referenda. For instance, the local councils may proclaim local referenda in matters under their jurisdiction when the entire population of the settlement is directly affected, especially when it comes to assessing the main goal of settlement development, specific portions of the general plan, or the need for the regulation of social relations requiring legal intervention.

As a guiding rule, therefore, it is the local council that should receive the authority to proclaim local referenda. There are good reasons for attaching certain conditions to local plebiscite:

- -- Although it may seem a matter of course, yet it may be necessary to stress that only local issues should be subjected to local referenda. (It is not possible to decide on a national question at the settlement level.)
- -- The council may proclaim a vote only in matters on which decision falls within the jurisdiction of the council body. Thus matters that fall within the jurisdiction of executive committees, of particular officials, of technical agencies are excluded from plebiscites.
- -- As a further condition it may be prescribed that a local referendum is warranted only in matters affecting the entire population of the settlement and may not be resorted to in individual cases which belong under the jurisdiction of the council (such as elections or appointments). It has been brought up that there should be a means for voting even on matters affecting only certain areas of the settlement. On the other hand, it can be argued that in a given case it may be difficult to determine the exact range of those affected and that, moreover, there are other means for ascertaining majority opinion in case of portions of settlements.
- -- Another essential circumstances is who would be entitled to take the initiative in proclaiming a referendum. Anyone is entitled to propose a referendum, but he right to initiate it entails something more: the council is not obliged to discuss a given proposal, but it has to place an initiative on its agenda, and it must reach a decision on the matter. The population of the settlement must be given the right to initiate. According to the proposal 20% of the population would be enough to initiate a referendum, but the Committee felt this was too much, that the signers of the petition should be 10% of the population at most. The local committee of the Patriotic People's Front should also have the right to initiate a referendum. Thus some comprehensive legal arrangement regarding popular initiative may be in order as well.
- -- Those eligible to vote may participate in local referenda. One must consider, however, whether the circle of voters might vary according to the issue: for instance, in the case of contributions to settlement development, or in matters regarding areas for recreational use, where the owners of recreational homes should be entitled to give their opinion.
- -- Our starting point was that the local council proclaims a vote on matters of great significance affecting the entire settlement. Bearing this in mind, a high rate of participation would be expected for reaching a valid decision. The proposal had argued that more than half (even two-thirds) of the voters should participate for the issue to be accepted. This would be significantly higher than the rate of participation prescribed by the election laws. In our opinion, in matters regarding the fate of the settlement a vote in favor or against by more than 50% of the registered voters is not too high. Let the council decide what ratio it is willing to accept as decisive. When the votes are counted the majority decides; hence the suggestion that close attention should be paid to safeguarding the interests of the minority warrants examination.

- -- Since it is a matter of deciding a fundamental issue affecting the life of the settlement, it is necessary to prepare a thorough analysis that would assess and present the essence of the issue, the arguments in favor and against, the expected impact of the decision. It is important for the voters to become acquainted with this material, and to discuss it in detail in the various forums so that they will gain a clear idea as to what they are to vote upon.
- -- In general, the manner of voting may be the same as during regular elections, but divergences in several directions may be warranted. For instance the population may be asked to vote by listing priorities, as in the case of choosing objectives for settlement development, rather than by answering a single question. Voting may take place in the polling booth, but in some cases it may be admissible to allow citizens to mail in their vote. We must also consider that with the spread of computer u age a more pertinent and far simpler method of voting may evolve. Therefore the council should be entrusted with determining the method of voting, and with deciding when the voting should take place: it might be on a Saturday, or on a specific day of the week at a specific time (e.g., on Thursday, on Friday from 4 to 7 pm, on Saturday from 7 am to 1 pm).

There are expenses involved in launching a local referendum. The regulation should stipulate that expenses are to be borne by the party which announced the referendum, whether it be a central agency or the local council.

- -- The outcome of a local referendum is binding on the council in the sense that the council may not take a decision in disregard of the referendum. But the question justifiedly crops up, is the result of the vote binding forever? The factors and conditions may change and the opinions may change accordingly. Yet it seems it would not be advisable to repeat the referendum within one year.
- 5. Several other questions were raised, and the opinions differed. For one thing, the capital city administration is expected to submit a brief on whether there should be plebiscite at the city level, according to precincts, or both.

Special conflicts may result from whether it is the president of the Council of the People's Republic, the Council of Ministers, or the county council that has the say in matters of territorial jurisdiction. The local council is expected to take a stand on issues of territorial jurisdiction. Prior to this it may announce a local referendum. It may happen that while a decisive majority of the population accepts a certain proposal the entities that have the final say (as listed above) may deem that the conditions of the referendum were not right. Therefore it would seem proper for the entity that has the final say to ascertain whether the conditions are right before the poll is taken. There were some participants, nowever, who considered the inclusion of such a rule as bureaucratic red tape.

The proposal suggested, for the sake of simplified legislation, that in the case of a local referendum the law governing election procedures should apply, and the creator of the new law should introduce certain special rules. On

the other hand, it was also argued that within the framework of the legislation it should be the local council that determines the rules for voting, and the law governing elections should apply only in areas not specified by the council.

We feel the legality of local referenda would be adequately preserved by the system of controls embodied in the law on councils. On the other hand, one may well ask whether guarantees for the social control of the local referenda should not be created at the local level.

- 1/ The VIII Congress of the Patriotic People's Front, December 13-15, 1985, publication of the PPF, pp. 77-78.
- 2/ Ibid., p. 125.
- 3/ It was mentioned during the first phase of preparation that the very notion of a referendum refers to the nation, hence the term should not be used in case of a local one. Since then, however, the term "local referendum" has become generally accepted, primarily thanks to the press.
- 4/ Jogtudomanyi Kozlony /Bulletin of Legal Science/, May 1986, p. 224.

13348/12947 CSO: 2500/281 POLITICS POLAND

OSTROLEKA VOIVODA EXPLAINS POOR INSPECTION REPORT

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 6 Nov 86 p 3

[Interview with Jaroslaw Niemyski, governor of Ostroleka Province, by Tadeusz Tadrzak]

[Text] [Question] Not long ago the Regional Inspectorate of the Office of the Council of Ministers [URM] inspected Ostroleka Province. Apparently you became ill after their departure.

[Answer] On the contrary, I felt better. True, the inspectors uncovered many deficiencies but they also indicated many positive points. Incidentally, Ostroleka Province went through two inspections. During the same time SZTANDAR MIDDYCH organized the first National Journalism Workshop in Brok on the Bug. The young writers were no less observant than URM's inspectors. Publications in your newspaper as well as in TYGODNIK OSTROLECKI prove this. After reading them carefully I can say that we passed that "inspection" too. I want to say with full responsibility that they were necessary both for me and for the province. It was, speaking in schoolboy language, a kind of quiz. We received a passing grade.

[Question] A lot of schoolboys get a thrashing for such a grade. Yet you are rather pleased.

[Answer] The inspection showed that compared to other similar provinces, we are neither worse nor better. Those are the realities. One would like to get an A. But as far as I know, none of the provinces that have been inspected, at least up to now, received such a grade. Yet I am pleased because due to the inspection many problems were moved off dead center. The "inspection" mobilized many people to better work.

[Question] That impulse seems to have passed already. People are indicating that everything is slowing getting back to normal in Ostroleka Province. Officials are not so pleasant anymore. The fresh rolls have disappeared from the shops.

[Answer] I am familiar with those opinions. At one of the meetings with village residents, an old woman stood uup and said frankly that it would best if the "inspectorate" had never left Ostroleka Province. During the inspection

nearly all institutions, offices and companis worked at an accelerated pace. Today many people want to lower the crossbar. And that is human—on has to rst a bit after exertion. But that cannot be. We cannot go off for a deserved rest. The question is, how do we want to keep the crossbar at the same level. Mainly through scrupulous implementation of the post-inspection conclusions and recommendations. We will be consistent here because one can work better and serve society better without financial expenditures.

[Question] Not everyone perceives his duty that way. One can com to that conclusion by looking at the pictures taken during the inspection. Do you blush when you look at those photographs?

[Answer] To some degree, yes. But the people who had their pictures taken should be blushing. Those who slept or drank alcohol on the job. They did not care about sanitation, state property and so on. It seems to me that taking pictures is a good educational method. It is necessary to show loafers and slovenly people publicly. Let the public see how people work, what they are getting paid for in some firms.

[Question] In an interview with our paper, General Drzazga said that in Ostroleka Province the poor attitude toward work, the consumption of alcohol result from certain historical conditions, from civilizational delays. Do you agree with that opinion?

[Answer] The people of Ostroleka Province are no better or worse than the residents of other regions. Yet certain circumstances from the past, placing these areas in Poland B or even C before the war, have an effect not only on the material base but also on the people's mentality.

[Question] What in the region stands out most to an outsider?

[Answer] It seems to me that that question should not be addressed to me. I have been in Ostroleka Province since its inception. Actually I have been associated with this region since 1952 so that my view cannot be as acute as General Drzazga's. Good, sincere people live in Kurpiowszczyna. They know hot to work tenaciously. But they could organize their work much better. Because it often happens that a person works very hard yet the results are mediocre. The organizers of socio-political and economic life have a great deal to do here.

[Question] You will no doubt agree that the state administraton should be one of those organizers.

[Answer] I do think so. But everything depends on peoplee. A good official cannot just work from point A to point B. If he knows how to do nothing besides writing a nicely worded memo, he will be a bad official. A civil servant has to be an activist too. After all, serving society is our duty.

[Question] But people are not attracted to that concept of government. Some joke that it will be necessary to organize a roundup to fill managerial positions.

[Answer] It is true that we are struggling with staffing problems. But you are exaggering a bit. We do not want coerced civil servants. We want them to take on official work consciously. We are placing our bets resolutely on young people. They have a nw, fresh outlook. A new approach to many issues and problems. They can persuade others; they make contacts more easily. And there is no denying it—they have more energy. And so our staff reserves are made up exclusively of young people. Many of these people are raising their qualifications. We are pleased with that. Because it is true that it is exceptionally hard to find educated people from outside the province. Unfortunately we are not competitive. So we lack not only civil servants, but doctors, teacher, architects and so on.

[Question] So it is not easy to govern such a province.

[Answer] It is easy and hard at the same time. Hard because problems are piling up. In addition to routine matters, we have to make up for lags. But perhaps that is precisely why work in this province gives a lot of satisfaction. Every school or shop built here is particularly pleasing. Even the least progress is noticeable.

[Question] I have encountered this statement: "A hatchet must be honed, a Murpian dulled."

[Answer] I am familiar with that phrase. It grieves me that Kurpiowszczyna is still generally associated with backwardness in many circles. I think that delays that are difficult to make up are to blame to a great extent. One usually does not joke about people who are well off.

[Question] Do you have your own dreams?

[Answer] Naturally, like everyone does. I dream about the residents of Ostroleka Province not being ashamed of their region. That they would be able to boast that they come from Kurpiowszczyna. The PZPR's Provincial Report and Electoral Conference and its resolutions fortified me in this. We have a good, ambitious program for the development of the province which, through the efforts of the entire community, will be fulfilled.

[Question] Thank you for the interview.

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POLITICS POLAND

ACADEMIC NOTES CHURCH, INSTITUTIONAL ROLE IN 'RECONCILIATION'

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 6-7 Dec 86 p 3

[Interview with Professor Anna Przeclawska, by Ryszarda Kazimierska]

[Text] [Question] For years a dispute over the substance and nature of socialist democracy has been waged in Poland. Former structures have turned out to be inadequate. They did not satisfy the ambitions of citizens who want to be a force in state policy, who want to have an impact on social and economic actions.

[Answer] In recent years, in an exceptionally difficult economic and political situation, institutions and organizations have emerged that permit articulation of the people's opinions. This corresponds to social needs. One can compare over past 40 years to a road full of zigzags. Generally, as I see it, we are moving forward, although we sometimes regress. Various experiences are accumulating and we are trying to transform them into better, more effective actions that bring greater results. The search goes on for new solutions that could satisfy people's aspirations to achieve influence over the shape of our public life.

[Question] Recent years have shown that a means has been chosen to create a number of planes on which various causes, concepts and attitudes could come into conflict. The Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth emerged, a movement in which you participate. Employee self-management began to operate in companies and the Socio-Economic Council and advisory groups were appointed under the Sejm. Advisory and consultative councils operate in the government. More and more often one hears the resonant voice of the reborn union movement in various important matters. One can expect the Social Advisory Council under the Council of State will be named soon, as will socio-economic councils under provincial people's councils. One can often hear the question, are we dealing with inflation of numerous councils and institutions; aren't they a facade, a pretense?

[Answer] I do not feel that these new structues are a screen or camouflage. The events of recent weeks confirm this. We were able to satisfy ourselves that there are real possibilities for shaping reality through the public voice. The more we are able to call up and use that public voice, the greater will be the chances for getting out of the crisis, in my opinion. I think that

often we do not see the processes in which we ourselves participate. In the past 6 months an atmosphere has been growing that favors Poles' discussions with each other, carried on in various groups, an atmosphere has been growing that favors looking for new solutions.

I would like to go back to what PRON has done, to the activities, discussions and documents of the movement. I think the report on the state of understanding presented at the beginning of the year, the position of the National Council in this matter, statements on economic reform, documents dealing with the state of the Polish family of the 1980s—all this paved the way for further, additional forms of broadening public discussion. I feel that it would be impossible to have the public discussion that is beginning to get under way now without the proper groundwork being done. I am convinced the discussion starting before PRON's second congress will also serve this end. The voices of other social forces—self-management, the union movement—are very important. I was at the trade union congress. I took part in the work of one of the groups discussing problems of social policy. Various causes and opinions clashed in that discussion. The fact that we are arguing makes me optimistic.

Speaking of an atmosphere conducive to understanding, I would like to call attention to the voice of the church. I think the words of the communique from the 217th Conference of the Polish Episcopate were very powerful and eloquent—that "everyone should contribute to creating a climate of peach and fraternal trust," that "all disputes that breed emotions and tensions should be put aside" and that "Poles should bear witness to reconciliation and joint efforts to lead the country out of a still difficult situation." Also, many of the actions of Pope John Paul II, aman who treats social and world peace as one of the greatest values, serve this end.

[Question] Let's go back to creating new forms, new planes that make having an influence on circumstances possible for ever broader social groups.

[Answer] I think a condition for effective communication is the art of understanding each other, talking so that one can be heard and the art of listening and treating differences of opinion as something normal.

It is important that there be an opportunity for full, free discussion, for the clash of opposing opinions, without creating an atmosphere of sensation around it, without the impression that this is something unusual. Discussions among people should lead either to coordinating a position or working out a new formula or to telling each other what matters we still cannot come to terms on and why.

One could name several conditions for such public discussion—the desire to carry it on, the art of using a mutually understandable language, an attitude dispose toward understanding the other's real intentions. Also necessary is rudimentary respect for the other person and his opinions, if they are different from ours. Finally, trust in the other person, so that even if we differe in our opinions, the general purpose is the same—we want the best possible solution to jointly discussed problems.

[Question] Many myths and ambiguities have sprung up around understanding.

[Answer] Let's not talk about understanding but about communication. Understanding leads to relations between two sides. But the process of communication concerns various social groups and organizations. It should go on within these organizations, among them reciprocally, between society and the government, but also within government and within society. It is necessary for very different groups to find a common language.

[Question] In recent years we have talked a lot about the need for dialogue.

[Answer] I wanted to talk about precisely that. In my opinion, we should move from talking about dialogue as some kind of abstraction to communication about concrete problems and goals. I see creating new planes of discussion as the way to this second stage of communication. The stage of talking about national understanding was necessary. Without it we would not have made it to the stage of solidifying the idea of communication, shared reflection in order to achieve something in specific matters like economic reform, social policy, education, health care, housing construction and certainly many others. It is necessary to augment the brain trust and expand the groups of people who have a role in solving the problems that bother us.

[Question] In spite of existing dividing lines?

[Answer] There are people who really want our country to develop and want to serve that end. They differ in their means but they have the same goal, although it does not always have the same form.

Discussion is possible with all people who want to discuss, not just deny. If they want to talk, to sit at the same table, then one can learn something from everyone and, similarly, persuade someone.

Diversity and unformity. One of the mistakes of the past that we have overcome was the faulty conviction about the uniformity of society, about the fact that that "moral and political uniformity" was a condition sine qua non for the proper functioning of society under the socialist system. Today we know and are aware that society was, is and will be diverse and varied philosophically, culturally and politically. This diversity is our fortune; it creates opportunities for growth and progress. There is probably nothing more harmful than feigned uniformity.

[Question] The voice of criticism has not always been well received by everyone.

[Answer] A critical voice, a different point of view, should mean that either one verifies one's own opinion or obtains arguments to fortify it, in order to have the chance to bring others around to one's causes.

[Question] Creating new institutions and structures that expand opportunities for satisfying the aspirations of various social groups to exert influence on circumstances in Poland is not just an attempt to socialize the decision-making process. It is also encumbering with joint responsibility.

[Answer] Of course. Participation in various structures of this kind carries with it acceptance of joint responsibility. But I think that no one can renounce shared responsibility for the fate of Poland. I think that is obvious.

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POLITICS POLAND

CHURCH WORKERS UNION OFFICIAL ON FUNCTION, GOALS

Warsaw SZIJANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 17 Nov 86 p 3

[Interview with Pawel Zgodzinski, chairman of the Main Council, Union of Religious Culture and Art Employees and delegate to the OPZZ Second Assembly, by Pawel Dybicz]

[Text] [Question] When one of my colleagues heard that I was going to gather material on the church employees' union, he asked, "does such a thing exist?"

[Answer] I am not surprised at his astonishment. Information about us minimal and there is none at all in many areas of the country. There are many reasons for this situation.

[Question] Is it because the union is small?

[Answer] That too is not without significance. Currently there are about 1,800 of us.

[Question] Out of how many potential members?

[Answer] About 20,000.

[Question] The union has had predecessors. Previously the Association of Polish Organists functioned, then the "Organism" union. So your union is not a new creation?

[Answer] As you no doubt remember, the "Organum" Religious Culture and Art Employees' Union existed for a short time. But after 13 December 1981, it was suspended and later, like all other remaining unions, it was dissolved. In 1984 a founding conference for our organization was held, so that one can safely say that we began operations almost from zero.

[Question] Whom does it bring together?

[Answer] One could say all church employes—organists, sextons, members of church groups and choirs, office workers, etc., regardless of whether they are religious or lay people. We have both in our union.

[Question] Does it have equivalents in other countries?

[Answer] The Vatican Lay Employees' Union is a kind of equivalent. Except that it is an organization within the Vatican state, nearly all of whose residents ar Vatican employees. It appears that on a worldwide scale there is no other union like ours.

[Question] What goal does such a rare union set for itself. What is its program?

[Answer] It emerges first from the fact that church employees want to be together and, to a certain extent, make decisions about their own work. In the history of the church up to now, an organization independent of both the church and state authority has never come into being. Second, through their union, the people want to have something to say. They have their own social, occupational, educational and finally musical problems. They want to consult with each other, overcome difficulties and above all help each other.

[Question] On what issues?

[Answer] The church hierarchy, as our employer, should carry on social and occupational activity. It does not do this. We want to be involved in this area of action, which up to now the chrch has not noticed. We want to consider such matters at recreation, vacations, summmer camps, etc. It frequently happens that people dedicated to the church, who have devoted their entire adult life to it, have nothing to do and nowhere to go in the old age. They may be discharged or given some shabby accommodations and new people are hired for their positions. We are fighting for a collective agreement that would eliminate situations such as when a church employee is paid but not insured. And if he is insured, it is most often at the lowest rates. To put it briefly, we want to obtain the same rights and benefits as those employed in the country's socialized entities.

[Question] When one compares your organization with other unions or federations, one can immediately see an enormous difference. For example, the other offices have to come to terms with one or two departments, while amost every one of your members has a different employer, a different supervisor—a pastor or bishop. With whom will you carry on discussions on a collective agreement?

[Answer] With the episcopate.

[Question] And does it want to do that?

[Answer] Up to now, not really, but it appears that it will come to a designation of a representative for discussions with us.

[Question] Have you already presented the episcopate with a draft of the collective agreement?

[Answer] Yes. We have submitted an appropriate document, but since then there has been no response. In any case, the church has been close-mouthed about our

proposals from the start. Now one can see certain changs. There are answers to our letters. Through me the union has received holiday greetings from Primate Cardinal Jozef Glemp, Franciszek Macharski and other leaders and monastery superiors in Poland. So one can see that the church has taken note of our existence.

[Question] Perhaps because the law on implementation of collective agreements went into effect on the first of January last year?

[Answer] I do not think that is the reason. That law deals with units of the economy and it is hard to see the church as one of them. A notation in the law is of no use here; only mutual understanding is. If it were to come to signing a collective agreement adapted to given regions of Poland, there would not be a battle of this kind between us.

[Question] You are carrying on a battle with the church?

[Answer] Nothing of the sort. Battle is not a good work. Rather, one should say that we want to be treated as parties in dialogue.

[Question] Could the attitude of the Roman Catholic Church toward you result from the fact that you have organized only 10 percent of potential members?

[Answer] Unions in some firms and instittions have organized 50 or 80 percent of more of their employees, bt there are also those that do not exceed 30 percent of personnel. In this case, does the smaller organization have nothing to say in its own company? Can it be ignored?

[Question] Then perhaps I will phrase it differently. Why are there so few of you?

[Answer] In that case, I will answer you differently. I am pleased that after two years of operation there are already about 1,800 of us and applications continue to come in. One has to remember the kind of atmosphere in which we came into being. I will not mention the facts about harassment by individal priests of members of our union, the threats that they wold be dismissed from their jobs. This was and is troublesome for many of our members. And so many of them do not want their employer to know that they belong to a union.

[Question] Where do you see the reasons for misunderstanding between the church and union?

[Answer] In misunderstanding our intentions. The church has a 2,000 year tradition and half that in Poland. Unfortunately many church leaders still do not want to understand that the world is changing, that an independent organization, appointed neither by a bishop nor a party secretary, can exist.

[Question] Many potential members of your organization also do not want to know that you exist?

[Answer] That is true, but that is another matter.

[Question] Perhaps they see you as people who act to the detriment of the church. No doubt they think that if such unions do not function in other countries, even in the West, then why should they exist here? There must be something to this.

[Answer] In the West there are few church employees; for example, most often the organists are clergy. Pardon me, but can a union exist in the Vatican? We are not encroaching on the spiritual realm. We are not usurping the rights vested in church authorities to decide this or that matter of the episcopate or diocese. We are only reserving for ourselves the right to share in decisions on social and occupational matters concerning church employees. Is there something wrong with building a home for the aged, for organists, for example, or organizing summer recreation?

[Question] But even in these matter you have not been able to come to terms with the church.

[Answer] For now! I believe that as Christians we will come to an understanding in the name of human compassion and kindness.

[Question] If you do not come to an understanding, then what? Will you call a strike? And how do you imagine a strike?

[Answer] Theoretically, a strike could occur. For example, on one day or at a specified hour, church employees would not perform their duties. However, I do not think it will come to a strike. I am convinced that we will reach an agreement with church authorities. We do not intend to come out against either the church or state authority. As followers of Christ, we will strive for harmony, good will, reconciliation and peace at any price. And we will achieve this.

[Question] Thank you for the interview.

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POLITICS

MEANINGS OF SOCIOPOLITICAL LABELS ANALYZED

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 6, 7 Feb 87 p 3

[Article by Zdzislaw Pietrasik: "Contemporary Polish Epithets"]

[Text] Those who have read all of "Pan Tadeusz" certainly recall that the last volume of that sentimental national epic is entitled "Let us Love Each Other." Here we have a one-story happy ending.

Stanislaw Wyspianski's "Wesele" ends in a completely different way. The Poles chat "half derisively, half seriously," they argue among themselves and with the ghosts of the past.

The latter motif is more suitable to our times. It is amazing that there are so few traces of Polish quarrels in contemporary literature and the press.

I got the idea of looking "obliquely" at contemporary Polish nicknames.

Nicknames, like attire, are subject to fashions. But in this instance, life creates the style, rather than the other way around. For example, in the years of the struggle for Poland's new political system, we had the kulak, the bourgeois or Bec-Walski (the degraded aristocrat, a comic figure, not of this world).

In 1976 old Polish dissenters were remembered because of Radom and Ursus. It had reached that point! Historical reminiscenses turn up in various forms and meanings. In 1982 on the walls of Polish cities there were posters presenting organizations as offshoots growing from the roots of "Targowica." One can use Targowica" to frighten in many ways.

In 1968 the Zionists (to Siam!) appeared, trouble-makers and cabaret entertainers "with a pimp's mentality."

Here it is 1987. Let us see what nicknames are repeated in the Polish language, especially the spoken, because the written language is subject to greater political, moral and social limitations.

In the unbridled conversations of Poles with Poles about Poles, in major and minor quarrels, there are several such epithets, usually of a not very precise

meaning, thanks to which one can use them in varied configurations and direct them at various recipients.

From the start I am discarding the most universal epithet, "he is stupid." This is very effective offense and defensive weapon, but let us leave it to the children fighting around the rug-posts. Especially since I read a reprint from STERN in FORUM and it was scientifically documented there that stupid people are more successful, healthier and generally happier.

Here then are several of the major common nicknames.

"Bad Pole"

Up to now it has been impossible to establish a complete definition of "good Pole." In this matter there were and are no objective gauges. In one of his letters Norwid listed a whole litany of names of "good Poles" who did a terrible disservice to their countrymen, who undoubtedly deserved better treatment.

We have often had trouble with evaluations of patriotism, as evidenced by the examples of national heroes, into whose biographies historians are constantly peering, wanting now to abolish monuments, nowto erect them again, even higher. We have had some forefathers who betrayed out of a feeling of patriotism and some for whom "the word fatherland did not appear on their lips," yet they did quite a lot for it. For example, which major was a greater patriot—Sucharski, who finally surrendered Westerplatte, saving his life and the lives of his people, or Hubal-Dobrzanski, who carried out daring operations, after which the Germans burned the villages? These are hard questions that should be posed for the lessons of history.

It is not easy to paint a portrait of a "good Pole" and it is hard to identify a "bad" one. Yet one hears this nickname occasionally; there were times when one heard it rather often.

The statement may be made in the form of a suggestion: every good Pole should do such and such in this or that situation. Therefore, whoever does otherwise did not deserve that noble designation.

One can encounter a more extreme posing of the issue: a real Pole could not have done that or a real Pole cannot think like that! Finally, the most categorical judgment: that is no Pole! This may relate to a matter of great national importance but also to interpretation of works of art, for example. I carried on an argument with a certain journalist who, before the premiere of a historical film, wrote something like this: the film is profoundly patriotic and moving; whoever does not experience similar sensations while viewing it is not a true Pole.

In all these examples, "not being a Pole" does not signify the actual situation, the issue of nationality, but merely a lack of a postulated canon of qualities imputed to the "model Pole."

But the term "bad Pole"—in the name caller's view—is used in a more literal sense. In official publications, such such bold arguments do not "penetrate," at least not often, but in the so-called third circulation, mysterious publications that present the conspiratorial version of recent Polish history are turning up constantly. A "real Pole" is a person one hundred percent upright and noble; the offspring of the victims of Grunwald are incapable of ignoble deeds.

"Nationalist"

Words and expressions describing love of country have taken on various meanings at various times. It would seem that even the etymologically certain word "patriot" has lost its virtue of unequivocal meaning. Sometimes it sounds like an epithet. It can happen that one patriot (in his own estimation) holds the lowest opinion about another patriot (in his estimation), like two jealous lovers of the same woman.

Nationalism, once almost identical to the essence of independence movements, has had a lower reputation for upwards of 50 years. Today, calling someone a nationalist is an insult.

In the official printed press, this weapon is not used much. If memory serve me right, I have not heard anyone called that for years. I am referring to polemics on contemporary issues and people. One knows something about some of them and the elderly remember National Democracy and the National-Radical Camps, but to rebuke publicly is bad form.

In a word, this is a typical cafe epithet. Perhaps because those called "nationalists" detest cafes, cafe intellectuals and cafe opinions.

I would like to give specific examples, but I hesitate for the reasons cited above. For example, a person about whom I have heard many times that he is a 100 percent, militant nationalist, is an artist who tells about great Poles in the days of glory and honorable defeat (the artistic side of these ventures does not interest me in this case). But in order to make such films, one need not be a nationalist at all, so this creative effort does not warrant this epithet.

In the recently broadcast series "Alternative 4," a certain registered association proclaiming patriotism in its title was parodied. There are many superfluous associations of interest to no one, yet this arouses curiosity that is usually not very sympathetic. With its public pronouncements against all scoffers and debunkers from positions that are only proper nationally, it has not won the sympathy of the series' creators.

Like every nickname, "nationalist" has been used in numerous meanings. Closer to and farther from the classical definition. Sometimes for no reason at all. Not everyone who idolizes "our fathers' glorious deeds" and sees himself as the son of an uncommon nation is immediately a nationalist.

Apprehension about this epithet is so great that it sometimes bring unusual results. Young creative people are scared stiff of great words and patriotic

trends. Rather more fashionable today is demontration of nonchalance toward tradition, although not that long ago things were different.

"Liberal"

Another word that has lost its reputation and become a caricature of itself. The liberal (liberalism)—as we use the term today—has forgotten about his good origin in the English Enlightenment and its illustrious godfathers Jeremy Bentham (theory of law and morality) and Adam Smith (political economics).

Classical liberals believed that if things are left to take their own course, one can expect that harmony will establish itself. Social order may be created spontaneously from contradicting and multi-directional public trends.

The liberal today. Recently I read Andrej Brycht's "Variable Central"; here is a literary portrait. ". . . this has been fone too grossly. In his long life, the guy had alrady been a militant Catholic, then turned into a geniune Fascist, then for five years he devoted himself to serving the Marxists, but when they repudiated him, he sank to levels of scepticism; that was fashionable then; now he is a liberal, whatever that word means, because only that costume assures success in society and is an essential condition for joining the game who stakes today are "Wages."

One can toss a "liberal" over both sides. Like a grenade with a delayed ignition that in previous, primitive wars one could toss like a volleyball from trench to trench. It is possible to have a situation where different individuals on either side of the barricade will bombard each of with this rotten egg.

Most often, though, this is what one calls former martinets who, after fading into retirement—for reasons of health, it was once said—began to impress the world with the breadth of their horizons and openness to the values they opposed in the past.

A "timely liberal" may turn up in office but he generally does not inspire confidence. He is merely pretending to be mellow—they say of him—he is a wolf in sheep's clothing. The "concrete" wave (see the next section) contemptuously calls liberals those politicians who care about the concerns of so-called opinion-making circles, who simply know how to advertise themselves, come up with a popular slogan or appear in good company. They are accused of softening up the rules, of pretending to follow the line, while they are merely looking at how to climb it to the height of personal success.

One "liberal" may not like another "liberal," but who knows, maybe they need each other. Too bad one cannot use the term today without quotation marks.

"C. ncrete"

Also, hard-headed, impermeable. Synonym: canned goods.

"Flowers don't grow on concrete," sang the "Niebiesko-Czarni group in the 1970s, without innuendo then.

This is a nickname once used sporadically and it came into circulation in the press and colloquial speech just in 1980-81. The orientation unfavorably disposed toward the transformations taking place at the time was called "concrete." From the very start amid these invigorating social processes they cried deceit and threat to principles.

The value system ascribed to "concretes" is rather meager: ideology from the propagandist handbook used 30 years ago, an allergy to foreign soundin words and ideas, fear of novelty and strong faith in the effectiveness of firm measures in settling political conflicts.

In individuals thus named, advocates of reform saw an impenetrable wall, a barrier to reform, innovation and democratization.

it is hard to say how the people called "concretes" defined themselves. From fragmentary observation, from certain public pronouncements, one can draw the conclusion that they see themselves as the only true defender of ideas in their pure state, betrayed by other activists and nearly all of society.

But in common language, in friendly chats, a "concrete" is a person with blinders on; he once learned something, believed in it and now trust in it blindly. He does not want to change because then he would lose the identity he built with his own toil.

"Agent"

A very frequent nickname, mentioned in cafes, in the work place, at parties and banquets.

I have already heard that so many of my acquaintances are spies that if that were really the case, that department would have to pay a salary to all citizens, with the exception of infants and the elderly, although the latter would still be within range of suspicion.

Given the fact that a matter is basically confidential, all certain information on the subject is based on "absolutely verified sources," which cannot be revealed under any circumstances. Therefore one cannot and need not demonstrate proof of guilt; it is enough to say authoritatively: he is To the question, "and how do you know?" most often one hears the profoundly justified answer, "because I know!" fortified by a facial expresion studied while spying on poker players.

Yes, dear reader, you too have a chance. You can be an "agent" in the eyes of your friends if:

- 1. You have become a sudden success. Clearly the suddenness and success should be taken parenthetically. Let us say you were promoted at work, you have been seen in the company of people reputed to be prominent, you have gone abroad several times. Those who know you better than you know yourself already know that you could never get that far on your own.
- 2. You have become rich in a "conspicuous" way. You traded your apartment for a bigger one, you bought a foreign car, yet you do not possess your "own initiative," which alone can absolve you of wealth. How will you prove that you earned the same?

- 3. You have good information. A person who is always well informed and is always the first to know is highly respected in society, up to a point. For there will come a day when someone intelligent will pose the question, "how does he really know about all that?" Now we know.
- 4. You lead an atypical life. You sleep during the day, you wander around at night, you turn up in various places with various people, the neighbors have trouble determining the source of your income. Up to a point.
- 5. You ask captious questions. Recently my good friend called another friend an "agent" when he visited her at work after a long period of separation and asked, out of the blue, well, what's new with you? Since then, she crosses to the other side of the street if she sees his profile in a crowd.

So you can be an "agent" sooner than you think. Because there is a certain favorable coincidence. Namely, there is an enormous demand for agents. To have one's "own" agent who sleuths and shadows is cause for pride. At least for all those daredevils suggestive of Mrozy Lucus who in the great conspiracy slipped away from non-existent spies, hurried to a public restroom, sealed himself up in the stall and wrote boldly on the wall, "Go away!"

One thought comes to mind at this moment. Those who see an agent everywhere and in everyone have the worst chance of recognizing the geniume article.

"Convert"

Once, not that long ago, matters of faith remained outside the public sphere. No one flaunted his religiousness and very few boasted of their atheism.

True, one used to hear occasionally about quiet church weddings, but they were really quiet, secret. On the other hand, quite a few believers were not married in church. So there was a peculiar symmetry and harmony.

In recent years, we have been (involuntary) witnesses to many conversions. Just a few years ago the word "convert" had rather historical associations. The lives of the saints were recalled; they had interesting episodes and turning points in their biographies. The classic example was Saul of Tarsus who at first was one of the most relentless persecutors of the early Christians, then was converted on the road to Damascus and, as Paul, became an apostle.

Now the converts are among us. Some have made sudden turns, like the Gospel fishermen on Lake Genesareth who abandoned their nets, boats and families and followed Christ.

Not everyone believes in these conversions. At several conferences I heard a joke that provoked the mirth of those attendin; there is great rejoicing over the conversion of one shoep, says the Gospel, but how do they greet a whole flock of lambs.

Very often the term "convert" is an ironic nickname. "Convert" in this sense is someone inauthentic, irresolute, unstable in his opinions. Almost without exception one's antipathy is aroused by those who exhibit joy in their transformation and even instruct other "unfaithful" and moralize like preachers. Well, a neophyte usually errs on the side of over-zealousness and so the attitude toward neophytes has always been marked by restraint.

Of course the nickname does an injustice to those who have truly come to believe. I believe there are such people too.

Sometimes the name "convert" is used in a totally different sense—it concerns those who were very active after August yet today are well situated in reality. The name callers cannot forgive them; they do not believe in the authenticity of their convictions (then and now).

"Collaborator"

Last of all. Three or four years ago I would surely have put "collaborator" in first place. The nickname was often made use of them.

There are no etymological puzzles here-during World War II collaboration meant cooperation with the enemy. Both in Poland and in other conquered countries.

During martial law—after its suspension too, but on a much smaller scale—people living in external and internal exile called all those who supported reality after 13 December 1981 "collaborators." At that time so-called list of collaborators were circulated and communities underwent divisions that to this day have been impossible to eliminate entirely.

The very fact of accepting a job in one's own profession was seen as a declaration of loyalty. Journalists and actors were among those concerned. But there were certain nuances; for example, one could work with some editorial offices, but not with others—from the same "Prasa" Worker's Cooperative Publishing House syndicate. Actors could work in theaters, but if they were to appear in the same play on television they would risk social unpleasantness. The building on Woronicz Street was treated as the headquarters of "Mis-Kolabol."

In time the list of collaborators shrank. I have not heard anyone called that for a long time.

These are a few of our contemporary nicknames.

Most are obscure and imprecise. Because they refer to historical analogies, and history—contrary to the saying—does not repeat itself and is not always of teacher of life.

They are often unjust and harmful. For the intention of the "grantor" is to discredit the one labeled, regardless of whether the words are consistent with the facts.

But I think they are worth listing and remembering because they express-admittedly in an imperfect way—real antagonisms and resentments.

12776

CSO: 2600/450

POLITICS POLAND

HRIEFS

FSO AUTO PLANT FIRE INVESTIGATION—A fire broke out at 10 p.m. on 21 February at the Passenger Vehicle Factory warehouse in Warsaw. The fire engulfed nearly hal fo the warehouse, which covers an area of more than two hectares. The administrative office building and the electronic computer equipment [ETO] center were also threatened. Due to the high temperature, the light steel construction of the flat roof, covered with particle board and tarpaper, lost its static resistance and collapsed over most of its area, hindering fire fighting efforts inside the building. Selfless fire fighting operations, carried out under unusually difficult circumstances, in which 173 fire fighters from 40 divisions and special technical divisions took part, helped salvage half of the warehouse complex in the fire zone, as well as the administrative office portion including the ETO center. Proscuting agencies are conducting an intensive investigation to establish the cause of the fire. No one was injured during the fire fighting operations. [Text] [Warsaw 20INIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 23 Feb 87 p 2] 12776

CSO: 2600/405

POLITICS ROMANIA

BOOK ON TRANSYLVANIA BY AMERICAN HISTORIAN REVIEWED

Bucharest REVISTA DE ISTORIE in Romanian No 1, Jan 87 pp 94-96

[Review by Teodor Popescu of "The Idea of Nation. The Romanians of Transylvania, 1691-1849," by Keith Hitchins, Scientific and Encyclopedic Publishing House, Bucharest, 1985, 221 pages]

[Text] The monograph by the renown American historian Keith Hitchins, "The Idea of Nation. The Romanians of Transylvania, 1691-1849," recently appeared as a book from the Scientific and Encyclopedic Publishing House. This book brings together a series of articles and studies referring to the modern history of Transylvania, as written by the author during the last 2 decades. Based on a vast amount of published and unpublished Romanian, Hungarian and German documentation, the author takes an objective analysis of the development of the idea of nation among the Romanians in Transylvania and, indirectly, presents the struggle for freedom waged during the period 1691 to 1849 in this Romanian province by the Romanian people. As in his previous works, the author points out the social and national oppression that the Romanians were subjected to by the Hungarian nobility, the German landowners and the Habsburg monarchy.

This book does not constitute a general history of the Romanians' national liberation movement in Transylvania during the 18th century and the first half of the 19th century, but rather is a logical telling of how the concept of nation evolved -- from what can be called spontaneous ethnic awareness, present for centuries among the ranks of the broad Romanian masses -- accumulating gradually new elements and arriving on the eve of the 1848 revolution at the appearance of the modern concept of nation, a testimony to the maturity of the Romanian national ideology in Transylvania. In the author's view, the Romanian revolution in 1848 was the corollary moment which showed that the modern meaning of the idea of nation had gone beyond the circle of just several hundred intellectuals and had penetrated into the heart of the broad popular masses of the millions of Romanian peasants, thus becoming a basic term in the national ideology of the Romanians in Transylvania. One of the special values of this book is the fact that the analysis of the development process for the idea of nation among the Romanians is done through the prism of the civilization of the Romanian people (language, beliefs, folklore, history, literature) and their religion (in the broadest cultural sense of the notion), with this last aspect being considered as vital in increasing the Romanians' own awareness in the 18th century and in the first half of the 19th century the secular idea of nation came to the surface, taking on all the modern attributes of the term.

In the process of modernizing the concept of nation, the first stage was during the first quarter of the 18th century when, due to the 1699 unification of the Orthodox and Catholic churches, the Romanians began to work -- using the legal rights guaranteed by the imperial edicts of 1699 and 1701 -- as a distinct national political entity against the laws which denied them political rights. "The political demands of the Unified Romanians, put forth in 1730," the author notes, "were based at the beginning on the promises of equality with the three nations, which would have permitted them to break the monopoly held by the (Hungarian) nobility, the Germans and the Szecklers... They linked the acquisition of political rights to unification" (p 35). Further on, he reaches the conclusion that "the unified intelligentsia became the bearer of the new idea of nation." They used the term nation to describe themselves, but "natio valachia" had different implications, as for example in the case of natio hungarica. For Hungarian: (and Germans), the idea of nation had two meanings -- in the first case it was a legal and political sense and only a subsidiary ethnic meaning. For the unified elites, however, it was first of all an ethnic concept. When there was talk of the "natiunea valaha" [Vlah nation], it was frequently understood as the Romanian people as a whole and not as a small privileged elite (p 36).

Proceeding from these realities, the clergy — both the Orthodox and the Uniate — added new elements through its representatives (Ion Inochentie Micu, Sofronie of Cioara, Visarion Sarai) as a result of their actions and those of the clergy-layman intelligentsia of the Transylvanian Romanians. These new elements were designed to better define the term nation. In the first half of the 18th century, the Greco-Catholic Church survived in the struggle with the Orthodox Church only because of the support provided by the Court in Vienna. From this struggle of a religious nature came a strengthened idea of a Romanian nation. The intellectuals of the two churches, especially the Uniates, developed the concept of nation as put forth by Bishop Ion Inochentie Micu, as expressed by him in his petitions addressed to the Court in Vienna, giving the concept a coherence and "laying the foundations of modern national ideology" (p 81).

Another distinct stage in the clarification of the idea of nation falls during the period 1770 to 1825, considered by the author to be the era of Romanian enlightenment. The book reveals the fact that during this period the Romanian intellectuals "were receptive to the ideas of enlightenment, especially the Austrian model. Placing great importance on education and the use of reason to resolve human problems, they were unusally optimistic about the future. The characteristic of this generation was pragmatism. Its members were little inclined towards abstract speculation, but rather they were preoccupied with the immediate problems of Romanian society: political emancipation, education and the status of the peasantry. Their vast productivity -- history, grammar, teleological and philosophical writings, sermons, and school books -- was focused towards promoting "general well-being." These concerns suggest another significant trait of Romanian society: the secularization of intellectual groups, a process that was already in full swing despite the fact that the majority of its members were still priests. Finally, a single element gave cohesion and direction to the diverse encyclopedic activities and concerns of this group: the idea of nation, which they themselves gave a historic and modern linguistic substantiation (p 94).

During this period, the main events which brought to a head the crystalization of the concept of nation were the Horea revolution (1784) and the Supplex Movement (1791). In analyzing the implications, objectives and consequences of the revolt, the author quotes the words of Josef II: "The Vlah people, beyond a doubt the oldest and most numerous people of Transylvania, are overwhelmed by injustices be they from the Hungarians or from the Germans, and their life is so worthy of pity that it is surprising that they have not all fled" (p 105). Similarly, the author points out the crisis of conscience for the intellectuals of this time provoked by this revolt even though some of its objectives "had no connection whatsoever with the intellectuals' programs. They were rather a spontaneous expression of the popular awareness" (p 125). And, I would add: of the awareness of the broad masses which, when combined with the views of the Romanian thinkers, tended to become a national doctrine.

The 1791-1792 Supplex Movement, constituting a step forward compared to previous similar movements, was also a positive step in the evolution of the idea of nation since, as the author reveals, summarizing: "The authors of the Supplex Libellus Valachorum Movement... were asking for rights for all Romanians regardless of religion and they presented their demands on behalf of the entire Romanian nation, Uniates and Orthodox together. They recognized as members of the nation any person with status of either nobleman or commoner who recognizes the same ethnic origins and speaks the same language" (p 130).

This qualitative leap forward in theorizing the idea of nation was certainly also brought about by the echo of Horea's revolt in the spiritual life of the Romanians in Transylvania.

Similarly, the book points out the fact that the period 1825 to 1848 was the era of maturation of Romanian thinking in connection with the definition of the idea of nation. During this period, characterized by a closer contact between tile Romanian intellectuals and progressive European thinking and, especially, romantic and liberal currents of the 19th century, the political leaders of the Romanian people in Transylvania succeeded in transforming the Romanian cultural community into a mature political nation and in introducing, at the same time, Romanian spirituality into the sphere of broad European currents of economic and social affairs. It drew its spirit from Orthodox and Byzantine spirituality and from the Transylvanian social and political complex, which was strongly influenced by the Romanian principalities of Moldavia and Muntenia. Raised to such solid footings, the 1848 generation was able to give the Romanian national movement on the eve of the outbreak of the revolution, an encompassing national program expressing the vital will of the Romanians. This is what the author of the book finds in this regard: "A new vision about the nation thus became dominant in the thinking and aspirations of the generation of Romanians of 1848. The nation was defined not by religion, but by language and history and, in the end, it embraced all Romanians regardless of their class or religion. Although the progress of the nation became the objective of their energies, the Romanian intellectuals did not stop feeling themselves a part of Europe. Influenced by the legacy of enlightenment and by

the romantic and liberal currents of the new century, they did not see any contradiction between fulfilling their national goals and the feeling of brotherhood with all the peoples of Europe. They were still thinking of progress not in terms of isolated ethnic communities, but rather as a general advancement on the path of prosperity for mankind. Such ideals were to be severely tested by the revolution" (p 168).

The 1848 revolution, the author finds, placed the Romanian nation in the situation of promoting its aspirations for social and national freedom. The programs approved by the Romanian nation during the events and, especially, the 16-point program of Blaj, represented a characteristic manifest for the intellectuals of 1848 in Central Europe. This program was, in the opinion of the author, "the most encompassing and vigorous declaration concerning the aspirations of the Romanians made to that point in time, and, by way of its essential elements, gave the national movement a program for the next half century" (p 100).

Although it saw its expectations dashed by both the liberal Hungarians and the Habsburg dynasty, with the Romanian nation falling under the same tyranny as before, the Romanian revolutionary movement for national liberation was not disarmed. "On the contrary, the idea of nation came to the surface in the recent conflict as the dominant spiritual sorce among the ranks of the Romanian intellectuals, playing a leading role until the unification of Transylvania with the Romanian Kingdom in 1918... Paradoxically, the Romanian intellectuals came out of the revolution with increased belief in their ability to take care of their own affairs; the Romanian government has demonstrated, at least to its satisfaction, the ability to govern by itself. Things went sufficiently well over the course of several months so as to demonstrate that their nation can achieve real progress only if it is free to determine its own future under its own leaders. In order to achieve these goals, they distanced themselves from concerns about abstract principles and focused on the problems of political organization and economic development, questions which absorbed more and more of their energy, until 1918" (pp 216-217).

From what has been seen so far, one can find that Keith Hitchins' monograph sought, first of all, in following the evolution of an idea, to point out those who conceived and fed this idea. For that reason, it seems a natural fact to us that the book gives special attention first to the generations of intellectuals who, through their activities and works, deserve credit for giving the idea of nation its modern form. The book fully justifiably gives ample space to how the intellectuals investigated the sources of national identity, such as history, language, religion and folklore, and how they employed them in a firm struggle with the privileged classes of Transylvania, formulating and reformulating national ideology in accordance with the evolution of events. There is also merit in the fact that the book analyzes the development of the Romanian intelligentsia in Transylvania, as well as all of Romanian society, in the context of the social and economic changes that took place in the Habsburg Empire. The author realistically feels that within the context of this evolution the period 1830 to 1840 is the most significant one for the appearance and affirmation of secular intellectualism. By accepting the

leadership of the national liberation movement, it placed its own imprint on the idea of "nation," giving it all the attributes of the modern term.

In addition to the intellectuals, the peasantry constituted the second national element which contributed to the achievement of the modern idea of nation. Extremely tied to their traditional manner of living, beliefs and multi-century religious practices, linked with their ethnic awareness and giving rise to their own idea of nation, the peasantry constituted the mass of the Romanian population. As is stressed in the book, this especially came out in the 18th century as a result of the peasant-type movements led by the priests Visarion Sarai and Sofrinie of Cioara, movements directed primarily against the Greco-Catholic Church in which they saw a foreign attempt to change their type of life. Despite the fact that in the 18th century the peasants and intellectuals were on different paths for attaining their national goals, the substance of their ideas about national community were nonetheless similar. Furthermore, the intelligentsia obtained an inexhaustible source of information about national identity (folklore, language, history) from the world of the peasant village, and this same rural world was the object of all of the intelligentsia, which was trying hard to guide it along the path of progress and towards the good of all people.

Another merit of this book lies in the fact that -- noting the influence exercised by the enlightenment, romanticism and liberalism on Romanian intellectuals during this period -- it stresses that both their idea of nation and their plans and hopes concerning the path towards progress and the emancipation of the Romanian people have their roots in the realities of the Transylvanian land and that the great majority of the rural population remained tied culturally and spiritually to the Orthodox world.

In Keith Hitchins' view, the 1848 revolution represents the crowning moment of a century and a half of national struggle, in which national awareness completely crystalized. The goal of defining the ethnic nation was completely achieved during this period. For Romanians — in contrast to the Transylvanian Hungarians and Germans — the idea of "nation" was not limited to a privileged class or to a religion, but rather it embraced all those who recognized their ethnic origins and their common historical past, without regard to social class or religion. On these ideological bases, the 1848 revolutionaries attempted to achieve the political autonomy of the Romanian nation as the sole element which could ensure its prosperity on the path of social and economic progress.

8724

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POLITICS ROMANIA

CULTURAL PROFILE OF 'MULTILINGUAL' TRANSYLVANIAN CITY

Bucharest CONTEMPORANUL in Romanian No 9, 27 Feb 87 p 2

[Article by Slavomir Gvozdenovici, "Contributions to the Monograph of a City Where Culture Flourishes in Four Languages"]

[Text] The cultural map of Timisoara is like a fascinating book of poetry, always lying open and where the bold and varied relief bears the imprint of man's soul. To skim, or better to read the cultural biography of this place is to be wonderfully tempted to meet love and beauty, a love and beauty which in this city is spoken of in four languages. If in the factories, the fields and the student lecture halls speech and talk pour forth in one light—that of coexistence and fraternal labor—they flow back to us in the pages of the seven papers and journals which appear in Romanian, Hungarian, Serbian and German, on the stages of the National Theater and the Romanian Opera, of the National Philharmonic "Banat," of the Hungarian and German state theaters and on the stages of culture houses, workers' clubs, in art galleries—in other words, in a phrase from the great stage of the National Festival, "The Song of Romania."

Among the first sensations you encounter in your travels through this most remarkable cultural scene in Timisoara is the immense joy to be alive and to create in this time of great happenings. Hence, this travel could begin with the handbills for February for the Romanian Opera: Don Pasqualle by Donizetti and Milloker's, "The Student Beggar." Two other performances begin on 1 March at the Romanian Opera, "The Barber of Seville" by Rossini and the opera, "The Bat" by Johann Straus with the extraordinary participation of Ion Caramitru, Elvira Cirje and Florian Diaconescu.

In addition, the four Timisoara theaters give frequent performances (performances in three languages!) and to linger nostalgically in front of the billboards tells all. Thus the Timisoara National Theater took its place among the other cultural events of this city on the Bega with a 10-day program beginning on 12 February of theater for youth, dedicated to the 65th anniversary of the founding of the Union of Communist Youth. Combining "The Valise with Butterflies" by Iosif Naghiu, "The Notion of Happiness" by Dumitru Solomon, "A Crazy, Crazy, Crazy Love" by Tudor Popescu and Paul Ioachim's "Oana," the Timisoara National Theater offered the young public a large repertoire in this 10-day period. And we note on the billboard of this same National Theater, "Marital Complications" by A. de Ilerz, directed by Miron Netea and starring Aurora Simionica, Stefan Sasu and Miron Netea, as well as "The Valise with Butterflies" of Iosif Naghiu, directed by Emil Reus and

starring Margareta Avram, Ion Ilaiduc and Cristian Comea. We should also make note of the major preparations underway at the Timisoara National Theater for William Shakespeare's "King Lear." This play will be directed by Ioan Icremia and the lead role will be played by Vladimir Jurascu. Added to all this were 80 smaller pieces put on in 1986 at the major enterprises, universities and schools in Timisoara. The National Theater in Timisoara is now preparing the fourth gala of contemporary Romanian drama, which will feature works of a number of Romanian authors including Alexandru Davila, Paul Everac, Dumitru Solomon and others. So rich and fertile is the activity of this cultural citadel, Timisoara, that it displays many prizes won by its servants of Thalia, all in the competition during the National Festival, "The Song of Romania." The majority of these prizes were for plays at a truly national level, where there were the names of such contemporary dramatists as Teodor Mazilu, Dumitru Radu Popescu and Camil Petrescu.

The Hungarian State Theater announces Peer Gynt by Ibsen, directed by Magdalena Klein and assisted by a famous name in scenography, Emilia Jivanov. The lead role is being expertly played by Karoly Synka. Noteworthy too is the cooperation between the Hungarian State Theater and the Romanian Opera, which together have put on over 100 performances of the operetta "Count Misca" in Hungarian. Mention should be made of medallions of various artists, the first pertaining to the famous actress Margareta Jsizsik. The German State Theater has planned a rich theatrical season. Under director Stefan Andrei Darida (and scenography by Petre George) work is underway for Maxim Gorky's "Night Shelter." This will be, we are sure, the hit of the season for this hardworking collective of artists. After their remarkable success with "Conu Leonida Faced with Reaction," they hope to bring to the stage the full opera of the great Romanian author Ion Luca Caragiale. Also I must mention Goethe's "Clavigo," Tudor Popescu's "Long Story of Love," and the recital of poetry by Eminescu presented by Georg Metzenrath as well as that of Prevert which will be given by Ildiko Jarasek Zamfirescu.

I would also like to add to this sentimental journey a totally different work put on by the puppet theater, "The Jungle Book," directed by Ioana Rauschau and scenery by Cristina Ivanescu Nagy. The collective at this theater has a splendid visiting card: In 1986 they put on 560 shows at 24 locales with the permanent stage in Timis county. These are but some of the opportunities that the numerous and generous folk of Timisoara have to enjoy. And when we consider that the large repertoire for this calendar year includes more than 20 works on the stages of the four Timisoara theaters, it is truly impressive! Under the same roof—yet another Timisoara hallmark—are the activities of the four institutions: The National Theater, The Romanian Opera, The Hungarian State Theater and the German State Theater—united around a common message which is of a time we can mention proudly, our time!

To this I must yet add--to complete the cultural scene in this city of parks and flowers (and there are already the signs of spring!)--the State Philharmonic "Banat" which had scheduled Ruha's concert for 28 February. Others will follow.

So varied and complex, so beautiful and noble is this cultural relief of Timisoara, that the city has--as I mentioned earlier--seven periodicals in four languages, a rarity anywhere in the world. These include: DRAPELUL ROSU, BANATSKE NOVINE, NEUE BANATER ZEITUNG, SZOBOD SZO, ORIZONT, KNIJEVNI JIVOT and FORUM STUDENTESC. Of particular note regarding these publications is the 30th

anniversary of the founding of KNIJEVNI JIVOT, the publication of the Union of Writers of the R.S.R., which appears quarterly in Timisoara in the Serbian language. This anniversary will be marked soon by the Timisoara Association of Writers. As far as this milestone is concerned, we will say only that by publishing the original works of Serbian writers in Romania, by translating classical and contemporary Romanian writers and with articles from the cultural history of the region, this publication makes its contribution to enriching the cultural heritage of the Banat and to spreading Romanian literature and culture. The history of the Writers Association of Timisoara and the 15 years of fertile toil of the Facla Publishing House confirm that Timisoara is a city of writers and literature, of a literature that goes forth in five languages--Romanian, Hungarian, Serbian, German and Slovakian--and in whose books beats a single heart. Looking over the offerings of the Facla Publishing House there are numerous very successful and very important works in the country's 1986 editorial year. These include: "A Course in Philosophy" by Eftimie Murgu, "Contributions to the History of the Romanian Enlightenment," by Nicolae Boesan, "The Economy of the Future" by Grigore Silasi and important works of fiction, "A Bird in Winter" by Ion Ariesanu, "The Myth of the Great Hunter", an essay by Andreia Lillin, "Romanian Words" by G. I. Tohaneanu and "The Argonauts" a collective publication of new poetry. In this area alone, in 15 years the Facla Publishing House has published almost 900 different works.

To survey this most interesting Timisoara relief, rich in events and accomplishments, and not to make mention of a totally different activity, that of the plastic artists in Timisoara, would be unfair at the very least. Among a number of rich and varied activities of plastic artists three of the most recent include the exhibition at Helios of the Arad plastics artist Onisim Colta, then at the Bastionul Fortress another presentation to the Timisoara public, this by Panait Stanescu Bellu entitled, "Colors of the Forest" and the third (but hardly the last), the photographic poster exhibition—both in color and in black—and—white, a high quality international event.

I have suggested to you to take a short sentimental journey through the cultural and intellectual life of the charming city that is Timisoara. One who would take this journey on his own will find yet more in this city with wings raised. I will remind you only that at the gates of the city, spring erased all signs of impatience under the pure flowers and the loves that can be found nowhere else. It is like a book of fascinating poetry, always open, which speaks of the everlasting things of Timisoara in four fraternal languages, telling too of new horizons of accomplishment.

12280

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POLITICS ROMANIA

1867-1918 HUNGARIAN TREATMENT OF ROMANIAN CLERGY, PEASANTS

Bucharest SAPTAMINA in Romanian NO 7, 13 Feb 87 pp 1,3

[Article by Corneliu Vadim Tudor, "Land of Our Sufferings"]

[Text] Modern man -- the beneficiary of the drama of human history, protected by laws and institutions which regulate the complex relationships between individuals and societal formations -- is almost incapable of comprehending how such atrocities were possible. Between 1867, the year of the diabolical Austro-Hungarian Dual Monarchy and 1918, the year the people were freed from the oppression of the Hapsburgs and the Hungarian counts , all over the world, there were events that attested to the heightened concern of governments and the common man for human consciousness, for the triumph of a new outlook on the basic rights of the human spirit. In the United States, the advances from the abolition of slavery were consolidated in these years after the civil war; in France the trial of a single man, Dreyfus, ignited moral consciousness; in England a legislative process that stretched back across a millennium continued to be strengthened; scientific discoveries and cultural achievements, for their part, facilitated a better communication between men-all of these developments were directed toward the ideal that, at least in peacetime, human dignity could no longer be trodden underfoot. Only in Transylvania was the process reversed; it plunged headlong into a period of barbaric regression. In this context, the work of Dr. Mircea Pacurariu, "The Policy of the Hungarian State Regarding the Romanian Church in Transylvania During the Dual Monarchy, 1867-1918," represents a devastating indictment of all forms of human degradation and of the spiritual and sometimes even physical extermination of millions of Romanians. Attracted by a series of laws in the eighteenth century, some Romanians embraced "unity with Rome," curious mixture of Orthodox and Catholic elements of the christian religion. In the end, this proved to be but another diversion of Hungarian potentates who attempted to totally sever this spiritual enclave from the main trunk of the Romanian population. Even Pope Pius IX was forced to intervene, giving the firm directive that the Hungarian language no longer be used in the Greco-Catholic church. Needless to say, his directive was totally ignored by Hungarians who, moreover, began to force the use of the Hungarian language in traditional Romanian churches. A successor to the abovementioned pontiff, Pope Leon XIII, was also obiiged to intervene vigorously to forbid this process. He declared that the translation of the Eastern Rite literature into the language of Arpad was, "a perilous innovation." His intervention had the same effect as that of his predecessor. Yet another pontiff, Pope Pius X was informed in early 1912 by the canon lawyer Vasile Suciu of Blaj, of the peril posed by Hungarian dioceses incorporating Greco-Catholic Romanians. He

pointed out this would mean above all the imminent magvarization of hundreds of thousands of Romanians. This chain of shame had been forged as follows: the Hungarian government convinced the emperor, Franz Josef, who in turn persuaded the pope to publish the bull, "Christifideles Graeci." In May 1912, there was a massive protest at Alba Iulia, presided over by the venerable patriot George Pop from Basesti, and attended by tens of thousands of Romanians. One of the speakers, Stefan Cicio Pop, said to the gathering, "The church is the cradle of our nationality... We have learned Hungarian and now they think that they can take over our souls. They are fooling themselves because the church is the most powerful defense of our souls." Among the speakers was the young lawyer Iuliu Maniu, "When Romanians heard they had been united in the new Hungarian diocese, they were at first anxious and then greatly saddened. If somewhere there was a disaster and 100 or 200 or 1000 men lost their lives, the whole world would shed tears of sorrow. What should we do when we see that from our nation, with the stroke of a government pen, they plan to erase 73,000 souls from the book of living Romanians?... The emperor and the pope have the right to create however many dioceses that they desire, but they do not have the right to replace our soul with a Hungarian one. Because if they try to do that, we will rip the seals from the documents..."

Even the more progressive Hungarians protested this measure which had only a religious coating but its true ends were political. In an editorial in the newspaper BUDAPESTI HIRLAP, on 12 July 1912, the Magyar diocese was called "a cannon for crushing nationalities." The newspaper GROSSOSTRREICH of Vienna observed. "The new Greco-Catholic Hungarian diocese is a total infamous sham." Among the European protests was that of the French foreign ministry. "This is what Austria cannot defend," the French foreign minister wrote to a number of his ambassadors in Europe, "that it is striving to its fullest for the magyarization of this region. It believes, rightly so, that the day the Romanian language is banned, these people will no longer look across to the other side of the Carpathians." A mere footnote in history, but an eloquent expression of the great heart that beat in every Romanian's chest, was the telegram of the vicar, Gheoryhe Musesan to the apostolic nuncio in Vienna, Rafael Scapinelli, "Until our last drop of blood, we will keep and defend the language and creed of our forefathers against the ruthless insolence of the papal bull, "Christifideles Graeci. Go ahead and scheme, you will see. The faithful and the diocese of Moftinul Mic!" It was an open threat to both the pope and Franz Josef.

The magyarization in the schools was another grave problem addressed by the historian Mircea Pacurariu. Here, for example, is a list of the books banned by the Hungarians in June 1877: "Lepturariu" by Aron Pumnul (which Eminescu had read over and over in his childhood), "History of the Romanians" by August Treboniu Laurian, three geography books written by G. Vadescu, M. Mihaescu and Silviu Salagianu, "A Geographical Atlas" by the same August Treboniu Laurian, "History of the Fatherland" by Ioan Micu Moldovan, "A Romanian Reader" by Visarian Roman etc. As one can see, these are books destined for those of the tenderest years and could hardly represent a threat to the security of the Hungarian state. Yet they were forbidden under the threat of the gravest punishment. Indeed, one can say that there really was no basic difference between this act and that of German fascism burning books in the town squares. But at the pinnacle of the policy of forced magyarization from the earliest years, those years in school, were the two laws introduced by the count Appony, which were praised in parliament with the words, "In a few years time,

the law will destroy all unpatriotic schools." A "pedagogical" journal in Sopron echoed the planned spiritual atrocities, boldly stating the opinion in vogue, "It would be good if the child could be separated from the parents and placed in a boarding school where it would have contact only with Hungarians. If this was not possible, there is another way: the instructor should be with the pupils not just a few hours a day, but for the entire day from early morning until late evening, so that the pupils do not hear their mother tongue whatsoever. During breaks they should speak with the instructor in Hungarian about Hungarian matters and they should take him along with them on outings etc. not only during the 10 months of the school year, but also over vacation. In this way, non-Magyar children will have to learn the state language whether they like it or not." Do not forget; this took place at the beginning of the twentieth century! No doubt the Magyar chauvinists felt that there was a beauty and nobility to their mission. After all, did not more than one of them during this period write that God addressed Adam and Eve in Hungarian? We are dying of curiosity about what the Creator said to those two maked souls! Mircea Pacurariu in his book presents proof--based on indisputable documents and statistical tables -- of the whole gamut of forced magyarization through the kindergarten and schools, of the tenderist of Romanian children. Were Hungarian government officials overcome with a suffocating love of Romanian children? Could they not rest without Stefan becoming Istvan and Ion, Ianos etc.? It was hardly that. The strategy was much more simple and plausible. Frustrated with the overwhelming demographic proportions, and with their absolute minority compared with the older and more numerous inhabitants of the Ardeal, the Hungarians attempted to boost artificially their numbers, so, if need be, they could justify their domination of Transylvania to the Peoples Tribunal. They went so far as to magyarize the names of Romanians on cemetery crosses, thus profaning the grave! But let us move from the luqubrious to actual crimes committed by Hungarians against the peaceful Romanian population who had the unmitigated gall not to want to share in the glory of the Crown of St. Stephen! Crimes and even massacres by the Hungarian oppressors were not confined to this era. One particularly bloody episode that scandalized European public opinion was the hundreds of killings during the 1848-49 revolutionary period, culminating in the massacres of the people in the Romanian villages of Luna and Mihalt which were put to fire and sword, With the support of the Dual Monarchy which gave them a free hand, the oppressors continuously honed their criminal skills which were brought to a peak during the years 1916-1918. First of all, young Romanians in the Austro-Hungarian army were forced to fight in the front lines of battle, ostensibly to prove their loyalty to the monarchy, but really to speed up their slaughter and eradicate the Romanian seed from Transylvania. The lawyer, Ioan D. Filitti, in his book, "The Historic Truth and Serious Judgments on the Foreign Policy of Romania" wrote, "Everyone knows that the Hungarians, in the war that they started, put the Romanian regiments into the first lines of battle." Mr. Take Ionescu speaking in the Romanian parliament sought to accelerate the entry of Romania into the war on the side of the Triple Entente, "We must stop the Hungarians from destroying the flower of Romanian youth by having them do their fighting and forcing them to fight against the national ideal." Passe was Gambetta's advice of 1870 regarding Alsace and Lorraine, "Do not speak of it ever, but think of it constantly." Now it was spoken of openly and everywhere--our ancient right to Transylvania. Immediately after the historic Council of the Crown in August 1916 when Romania's entry into the war was decided, the prime minister, Ionel I. C. Bratianu, expressed it concisely, "We are at war with our enemy, Hungary. We are indifferent about Austria and we regret the situation with Germany." The Hungarians, as though they wanted to

complete the full circle begun at the beginning of the millennium with the murder of the voivode, Gelu, on the banks of the Lapus river, launched an accelerated wave of crime to close out their high-handed domination of Transylvania with the same sadistic acts that had made for them their reputation in Europe. We will chose from these crimes only those committed against the unfortunate heroes in the service of the Romanian church. Some of these had been "guilty" of greeting too enthusiastically the Romanian army which in August and September had liberated a part of Transylvania; others of performing church services in Romanian; still others of refusing to swear an oath to the monarchy etc.

Dr. Mircea Pacurariu appended to his book a sobering list of the names of priests martyred by the Hungarian gendarme and army. Here are but a few of those names which we bring out of obscur'ty because they should be enshrined in the gallery of national martyrs. Priests slain during the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian empire: Ioan Opris from Cristis, Turda, shot by the gendarme when he tried to establish a Romanian national council; Afanasie Conceatu from Deta, Timis, bayoneted and shot along with other Romanians and Serbs on 4 November 1918; Mihai Danila from Dijir, Bihor, to tured and then shot on 14 February 1919; Cornel Leucuta and Cornel Popescu, both of Simand, Arad, tortured and then killed on 9 April 1919, during Passion Week; Augustin Tirziu of Cherelus, Arad, arrested Easter Sunday and brought to Budapest where he was killed; Corneliu Gavris from Bolnesti, Satu Mare, died from wounds in the spring of 1919; Ioan Vasile Filip, shot at Marghits in 1919. Priests from the Ardeal and Banat who died in prison or were deported, 1916-1918: Alexandru Atnagea, died in prison in Deva on 31 October 1917; Iosif Catavei, died in prison in Cluj on 14 January 1918; Dumitru Deac, died during deportation at Fules-Sopron on 1 September 1917; Dr. Gheorghe Dragomir, died at Sopron on 8 January 1918; Petru Lauga, died in deportation at Fules-Sopron on 1 September 1917; Nicolae Muntean, died in prison in Cluj on 17 March 1917 (leaving behind seven orphaned children); Ioan Pop David, died in prison in Tirgu Mures in 1918; Gheorghe Moldovan, arrested in the fall of 1916 and send to Odorhei--disappeared; Ioan Muntean, arrested by the Hungarian army in August-September 1916--disappeared; Octavian Birsan, shot in the fall of 1916 together with a number of peasants from the village. Another several hundred names are found under the headings: "Priests from the Ardeal and Banat Jailed by Magyar Authorities in 1916-1918" (141 persons); "Priests from the Ardeal and Banat Deported by Magyar Authorities to Sopron and Zombor in 1916-1918" (218 persons); "Sentenced to Death and Rescued by Romanian Troops and the Faithful" (6 persons to which are added tens of others arrested or who fled the diocese): "Priests of the Ardeal Who Died Shortly After Liberation as a Result of Sufferings in Jail or Deportation" (19 persons); "Driven Insane by Torture" (3 persons); Women priests and Children of Priests Jailed or Deported" (17 persons); Priests of the Ardeal and Banat Made Refugees During the War 1916-1918" (92 persons including the writer Ion Agirbiceanu); Priests as Refugees About Whom There Is No Further Information" (44 persons) and so on. These lists of course were much longer in reality because, as is easy to understand, the Hungarian authorities took pains to cover up the atrocities and to eliminate their traces. Added to all of these were other cruelties-humiliating beatings, violent acts committed sometimes even on the altars of churches, "refined" techniques of torture--and you can receive a more dreadful vision than that of the "Night of St. Bartholemew" which lasted onbly a few hours, whereas the martyrdom of the Romanian clergy lasted 3 years! And, you must recall that these listings include only the priests and their families. To these must be added thousands of Romanians of other occupations: peasants,

teachers, lawyers, office workers, students--peaceful and simple men who had done no wrong! You can imagine how it was when you consider that because he had greeted the Romanian army in August 1916 with a bouquet of flowers, the priest Iliarie Gontea, father of five children, was imprisoned first in the military jail in Fagaras, then the civilian jail in Tirgu Mures, then the military jail in Cluj and finally the civilian jail in Cluj. And this is but one example. With a true talent for the narrative, Dr. Mircea Pacurariu "Several priests died during describes several terrible scenes: investigations. Such was the case of the venerable priest Avram Stanca of Petrosani, 71 years of age. After the Romanian army entered Transylvania, he offered his services, giving information and offering allegiance to the Romanian king. Because of his age, he could not retreat with the Romanian army. Arrested one frigid night in October, without hat or coat, he was forced to walk 40 kilometers, during which he lost his vision. Arriving in Sebes, he was left with his son, the priest Sebastian Stanca, and then was deported to Ruszt where he died on 24 December 1916. The archariest Ioan Bercan of Rupea was arrested by the gendarme and brought to Brasov on the pretext that he had encouraged Transylvanian Romanians to seek refuge in the Old Kingdom. He was beaten and tortured so brutally that he went insane and was left wandering with his head bare and a mass of wounds. Friends took him home where he died shortly thereafter...The archpriest Dr. Gheorghe Dragomir from the Alba church (now in Yugoslavia), former professor at the theological and pedagogical institutes at Arad and Caransebes, died at the hospital in Sopron in January 1918, apparently poisoned after a year and a half deportation in Nagymarton." Seven orphaned children remained following the death of Ioan Hurca (whose wife went mad from the horror and spent 20 years at the insane asylum in Sibiu) and Iacob Chifa, who died at a hospital in Turda was followed shortly by his wife. The regime, at its foundation, was employing the forerunner of the reign of torture applied later by the Horthyites and the fascists. Look at the deposition of the priestess Ana Popa of Lisa, Fagaras who was jailed 7 months in Cluj. "After the battle of Porumbacu, my husband crossed the mountains with the Romanian army. From 2 through 25 December 1916, the gendarme came nightly to search the house and they threatened to hang me. On 26 December, they brought me to jail in Brasov. My two children, aged 9 and 11, were left home alone. Exhausted on the way in the cold and the snow, a gendarme knocked me down and then yelled, 'Get up you stinking Vlach!' The next day, they brought us to Cluj, 1300 men and 220 women. On the way they taunted, jeered and spit on us. Jailed in a filthy hall, I stayed there until 26 July 1917. Many underwent terrible beatings -- there were open bloody wounds, others were covered with bruises and sores. Every day three or four people would die. Children would gather scraps from the garbage and gnaw on them. They accused me of treason, but after five separate hearings they could prove nothing and I was finally released. At home everything was in ruins." Dreadful was the torture under which the priests Cornel Popescu and Cornel Leucuta died. Arrested during Passion Week by the commandant of the gangs of Magyars in the area, they were beaten and killed; their bodies bound together with wire, attached to a heavy stone and thrown into a canal. The parents of Mihai Danila, accused of praying for a Greater Romania and blessing the Romanian Tricolor were beaten and tortured (together with the mayor of Dijir, Bihor, one Ion Ortanu) and they were dragged out in chains toward Marghita. Enroute they were riddled with bullets and their bodies dumped into a ditch. There was a chain of peasant massacres carried out by the "Urmanczy" detachment, a group of 65 criminals armed with rifles and machine guns. In November 1918 they assassinated no less than 45 men and women in Belis. There was another

massacre at Ciucea in January 1919 when seven peasants were riddled with bullets. In Seghistei 69 peasants were hacked to pieces and the remains burned; in Ghiurcuta other peasants were burned alive at the stake; in Banlaca six peasants were forced to dig their own graves and then were shot, and so on. The author affirms, quite rightly, that these massacres were preludes to others at Treznea, Ip and Moisei during the later Horthyite occupation.

Today the descendants of these sadistic criminals, settled in the United States. Canada and in other areas of the world, mouth their pretensions of "human rights" and of Transylvania belonging to the Crown of St. Stephen. When you commit such extraordinary crimes, more beastial than those of wild animals, any insolence seems normal to you. With a propaganda that daily draws on all kinds of enticements (money, women, gifts of all sorts) today's irredentists pose in from: of history as guileless lambs, all the time falsifying maps and treaties and extending once again to Transylvania the same bloody hand that, in the words of Nicolae lorga, had tors the veil of universal history in the year 1000. Fortunately no one believes them; all historical evidence is against them--but no one who has killed before, who has criminal paranoia in his genes, cannot but horrify the spirit of justice of the end of a century and a millennium. Transylvania was not and will never be Hungarian, because through terror and crime you cannot forever dominate what is not yours, and that which is a lie cannot endure. Genocide is the single crime not needing a statute, because it goes right to the heart of the human condition, to the survival of the species. This is the book of Dr. Mircea Pacurariu: a powerful document against killers by profession, who could not wash off the blood from their hands with all the water of the Danube or the Balaton. Translated -- as with other books of this genre -- into the languages of international circulation (English and French), the work, "The Policy of the Hungarian State Regarding the Romanian Church in Transylvania During the Dual Monarchy, 1867-1918," can explain to anyone the twisted thinking that dominated Hungarian government officials in matters regarding the inalienable Romanian rights in Transylvania.

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ROUNDTABLE ON CURSENT CONCERNS IN CAMPAIGN AGAINST RELIGION

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Discussion by Dr Octavian Chetan, Dr Stefan Costen, Univ Reader Dr Georgeta Flores, Univ Reader Dr Florin Georgescu, Scientific Researcher Dr Ion Geian, Univ Reader Dr Octavian Histor and Univ Prof Dr Ion Tudosescu: "Current Requirements, Whys and Means of Scientific-Materialist, Revolutionary-Essentist Discations

Text Formation and development of revolutionary socialist sources based on the historical and dialectical materialist view of the world and life and the latest advancese of science and world knowledge and reform of people's entire way of working, living and thinking on the principles of scientific socialism and revolutionary humanism are chief among the RCP's concerns and major aims of its ideological and political-educational work. As part of the process of forming the new san as a purposeful builder of socialism and communism, scientific materialist and revolutionary humanist education is expected to make an active contribution to better knowledge and understanding of the world around us and to consistent opposition to the unscientific ideas and backward, systical and obscurantist attitudes that are blocking the affort toward construction of the new order and the nation's all-around progress:

The more intensive scientific-materialist educational work and regular cultivation of Romanian socialist society's can social, political and moral values demanded in the documents of the 13th RCP Congress, in the RCP Ideological Program and in Party Secretary General Ricolae Commeson's speeches are particularly urgent because Romania's social progress itself critically depends upon opposition to all that is old and outmoded and intensive promotion of the new in all fields and especially in that of people's sourcess. Hicolae Commeson said, "The great revolutionary reforms, the new social and economic relations, and the advances of science and world knowledge demand more intensive political education and improvement of the workers' and entire people's revolutionary sourcess."

The RCP Ideological Program, approved by the 13th RCP Congress as an integral part of the RCP Program for Building the Pully Developed Socialist Society and for Rossmia's Advance Toward Communism, regards education as a comprehensive,

multipurpose process with a vital part to play in forming a man with advanced convictions and attitudes, capable of overcoming dependance upon backmard, mystical ideas, freed of belief in the existence of supernatural powers who have "directed" or "direct" the universe, and with in-depth knowledge of the objective developmental laws and confidence in the power of science to provide rational explanations of natural and social phenomena.

In view of these considerations, ERA SOCIALISTA arranged a discussion of the problems of present-day religious belief and of the scientific-materialist and revolutionary-humanist educational effort. We are publishing an abridged transcription of the discussion in this issue.

ION TUDOSESCU: I think promoting the scientific view of the world and life and presenting the current processes of religious disalienation in that light require certain analytical procedures, including a comprehensive treatment of contemporary religious belief.

In the first place, I feel it is necessary to bring out the many aspects of this complicated phenomenon, wince it is well known that religion is not only a view of the world but also the outcome of an ideological option in social summerses, and that it is not only explanatory but also axiological. Moreover, in addition to its set of convictions and beliefs in a world that ultimately proves illusory, religion also resorts to a long perfected system of psychologically well consolidated norms and rituals maintaining its particular set of values the preservation of which gives rise to a series of alienating relationships among people. Those relationships are enforced and maintained on the practical level by the specialized sectarism institutions, resulting in an extension of the religious phenomenon from the mental and ideological level to people's material existence, where it influences both their social swareness and their social existence.

Another analytical procedure would be to compare the religious values with other sets of values. In general the technical literature duells upon comparison of religion with science, quite rightly printing out the radical difference between religion and science but with less to say about religion in comparison with other forms of social awareness, including such sets of values as the moral, political, legal and even aesthetic values, to say nothing of the philosophical ones. I believe these correlations must be more throughly investigated in order to understand the nature of the relationship between religion and art and between religion and culture in general. The question was raised long ago in the Romanian philosophical and socialogical literature, but it must be further emphasized because we can make no progress in the effort to determine the sources and nature of the values that shape the various contemporary sects without considering the present stage in the evolution of the religious values and accordingly the process of religious disalienation that the sec's have undertaken.

I think it is also important to study what we commonly call the "social functions of religion," which is especially important because we know that religion in general and the religious values in particular have had integrative functions on the community and state levels in various periods and stages of historical development. We also know that at certain historical points the representatives of some religious sects have had attitudes in keeping with the general directions of progress and have worked for social and national emuncipation. These

things also happen in a general and varied way in various historical-geographic areas of the contemporary world and, of course, they must be analyzed very carefully because the religious cover given some contemporary revolutionary and progressive processes often has absolute no favorable historical-social effects but, on the contrary, a diversionary and reactionary character.

Our discussion could also take up the correlation between the new man of socialist society and the atheist man. In this connection, I do not think scientificmaterialist education is just a formative process operating on the explanatory level alone. Since religion operates on several levels, scientific-materialist education must also be regarded as scientific, political and moral education and a comprehensive process of secularisation of values and formation of a new kind of human. I regard the man of Romanian socialist society (especially if we mean the latter in its present stage of all-around development) as a man with both firm scientific convictions about the structure and evolution of the universe and advanced revolutionary options of values and ideology and a man armed with the historical and dialectical materialist viewpoint who shows complete confidence in the possibilities of fulfilling his personality and actively promotes the values and ideals of the new order. Accordingly the relationships between religion and humanism could also be discussed, in order to bring out the profoundly reactionary antihumanist substratus of some religions, and especially that of some religious sects on the fringes of contemporary cultures, as well as the correlation between the process of human personalisation and that of religions disalienation in the present period, especially in Romanian socialist socie-

Extent of Religious Belief Totay

GEORGETA FLOREA: In connection with the evolution of raligious belief, interrelated in many ways with all levels of the world social system with its subsystems, the fact is that religious have always had contradictory histories, accentuated in periods of great and comprehensive structural changes or when social evolution has been characterized by diametrically opposite fundamental processes abd trends. It is also an unquestionable fact, emphatically pointed out by Hicolae Commescu, that mankind is now emperiencing one of the most complex periods in its whole history, since the present period is dominated by a series of opposite processes and trends that are influencing and interacting with each other. It goes without saying that we cannot examine the evolution of the contemporary religious situation without reference to the trends and processes characterising this period, some of which are accelerating social progress, restricting the scope of human alienation, enhancing people's ability to free themselves from the domination of natural and social forces, and accordingly curtailing the functions of religion and bringing it to a stage of profound crisis.

Accordingly, as the revolutionary reforms are expanded and intensified, the socialist revolutions are accomplished, and the shift is made from capitalist socisty, divided into antagonistic classes, based on social and national exploitation and oppression, and no longer suited to the production forces new in history, to socialist and communist society, freed of antagonistic classes and any kind of exploitation or oppression, the social base of religion is considerably restricted and the main reasons why people resort to religious representations and practices are permanently eliminated. This is critically important to the destiny and progress of humanity as a whole.

At the same time, the entry of most religions of the world into a state of crisis is the inevitable outcome of the victories won in the course of more and more peoples' transition to independent economic and political development, the elimination of imperialist domination, the overthrow of the colonial system, the establishment of new international relations based on equality, justice and equity, and the widespread technical-scientific revolution as well. All these structural changes are increasing people's confidence in their ability a better and more worthy life for themselves by themselves and accordingly curtail the influence of the illusions promoted by various religions. The pronounced polarisations in the social and class structure of the capitalist system, the unprecedented growth and diversification of the progressive democratic forces, the greater role of the working class and the political factor in present-day society, the pronounced politicization of the masses' awareness, and the growing influence of Marxism upon contemporary thought are all having the same effect. And the accelerated development of science and technology, the new technical-scientific revolution and its effects upon all social activities are also highly important as we have said.

Under these circumstances the secularization characteristic of all contemporary societies is becoming increasingly pronounced, so that an all-inclusive systemic crisis of the traditional religions has set in that involves all their components. This crisis equally affects the dogmas, which are faced with the growing doubts about the plausibility of many of their principles, the institutional organization, which has become increasingly inefficient through loss of authority on a massive scale, the church hierarchy, deeply divided by the tensions that have arisen among its various echelons, the rituals, which are no longer observed to the same extent and with the same accuracy as they were not very long ago, and especially the believers' awareness and behavior, which have been essentially disorganized in their mystical form.

OCTAVIAN CHETAN: I think we should examine this process of secularization characteristic of the world of today. In general by secularization we mean the process of gradual restriction of the role and influence of religion in various social activities. This process, which has become increasingly striking in the last few decades, has been causing a profound crisis in religion and a continuing curtailment of the religious phenomenon, although sometimes that fact is rather difficult to note. But it is also provoking various attempts to "adapt" religion to the changes made outside it.

As various scholars both here and abroad and even some theologians point out, religion is losing more and more ground in its social influences, especially if we compare them with its status a century or half a century ago, when it had a privileged position in the societies' cultural, ideological and political activities. The crisis affects all levels of the religious phenomenon, ideology, doctrines, institutions etc.

To be sure the representatives of religion are not passive in the face of this deterioration. They are trying various strategies to resolve the increasingly difficult and complex problems confronting them today. This includes a number of attempts to "modernise" contemporary religion and to "insert" it more effectively in social activity. As we know, the Catholic theologians for example have a great deal to say about "aggiornamento" ("updating" of Catholocism), while other theologians talk about "contemporarising" religion, all trying to lend "a new impetus" to the Christian religion. Theologians with wide

international followings have repeatedly declared that if Christianity is to survive it must regain "a significance" for the man of today and not just for a decreasing number of religious people.

As it has been pointed out in this discussion, in this situation observation of religion involves a comprehensive analysis covering not only religion's ideological and doctrinary aspects but also the moral and axiological ones, as well as its role and "social functions" in various societies and under various societies and political conditions.

The attitude of the contemporary religious institutions toward the immediate social-political problems indicates a wide range of concerns, including participation of many contemporary religious institutions in the struggle against underdevelopment and for disarmament, peace, a climate of collaboration and widespread understanding among states, etc. A regular effort is to be seen to "accommodate" Christian doctrine to the present developmental stage of the sciences. Christian theologians of various persuasions have dwelt, on various occasions, upon the possibility of a "synthesis" based on an alleged "harmony" between religious belief and the findings of scientific knowledge. Christian creationists are trying through various subterfuges to establish relations of peaceful "cohabitation" especially with the data of modern cosmology, physics, biology and paleontology, in the hope of "collaborating" with those sciences in order to "restore" the Christian ecumenical ideal. Along with this "acceptance" (necossitated by the rapid penetration of the individual's daily life on the part of science and technology, and by their steadily growing prestige in present-day cultural circles), the representatives of religion are trying to reconsolidate their positions in the redoubts of religious morality and a peculiar anthropology that they are increasingly exphasising. Without actually repudiating any of the dogmas of religion, as a rule its spokesmen no longer emphasize the "letter" of the texts they consider sacred but their general-human significance, concerning the relationship of the individual to the Divinity and hence by a subordinated derivation the relationship of the individual to a human community. In this greatly modified position theologians of various persuasions advocate formulating a "philosophy of the individual" based on Christian dogmas and the principles of Christian morality, which aspires to become the "reliable support" of religion in the modern world.

I have emphasised these main directions of development of the Christian religious doctrines and their approaches to the values of contemporary science and culture in order to bring out the need of adequate, in-depth knowledge of the contemporary religious phenomenon as an essential for an increasingly effective scientific-materialist and revolutionary-humanist educational effort. An outmoded picture of religion often emerges from the pages of writings on atheist subjects or from the sentences of speeches of the same kind. Their authors sometimes oppose principles that the Christian ideologists themselves abandoned over a quarter of a century ago, and they overlook the real questions in the center of the confrontations between religion and the world of today and the strategies to which these ideologists are resorting today in the effort to recover positions which in fact are permanently lost.

GEORGETA FLOREA: It is also apparent that the present crisis in religion and religious belief is not accompanied by a general or continuous decline. While

religious belief is declining in most countries of the world, the religious phenomenon is expanding and diversifying from place to place and from time to time. Paradoxically, new religions are still appearing in the 20th century (religious movements and groups that have appeared since World War II), others abandoned long ago have been revived, and a number of tribal cults are resisting and coexisting with the traditional sects. And in some countries the sects, favored by the crisis of the traditional religions and encouraged by some reactionary imperialist circles, are showing an alarming recrudescence and a capacity for migration that the world religions did not achieve in their flourishing period.

The pronounced and rapid migration of the various older or newer religious ideologies, movements and sects makes it extremely difficult to evaluate the curve of growth or decline of religious influence in today's world. On the world level, the losses of some sects often mean gains of others, while individual shifts from one religion to another are almost commonplace today.

FLORIN GEORGESCU: The secularization process that has been discussed here is not and cannot be understood in its entirety if it is viewed solely as a fact in itself. I would call it a symptom of the "trial" that religion is undergoing and of the "verdict" as well. Religion is at a crossroads unprecedented in its entire history. By secularization the contemporary world means to say that the presence and manifestations of religion have bad effects upon the activities in the social subsystems that secure the operation of the overall social system. Of course this process is not due to the communist movement alone nor to the socialism that has won out in a number of countries, as the imperialist, anticommunist propagandists often tendentiously claim. Religion's decline is a far too complicated phenomenon, with deep roots in the realities of the contemporary world, to be ascribed primarily to the communist parties' policy.

But secularisation is not only a symptom of religion's future evolution. It can also be seen as an indicator of the developmental level of contemporary society. The growing deemphasis of religion is merely the reflection of accentuated human freedom. The process indicates that man is becoming increasingly aware of the fact that he can solve his great problems himself within some new, advanced and viable social systems that provide for society's progress and innovating revolutionary reform and perform their mission with no further need of religion.

It should also be mentioned, as it has been said in our discussion, that secularisation is not a direct or even process with no contradictions. Faced with the decline that even they observe, the official representatives of religion have to resort to strategies that can be considered significant, not only "reinterpretation" of the dogmas in religious ideology, "modernization" of the ritual, repudiation of the triumphalist attitude that used to characterise religion, and growing concern for the great problems that are troubling humanity, but also care that the movements of protest proceeding under religious banners do not take a revolutionary course.

STEFAN COSTEA: As it has already been pointed out, the problems we are taking up must also be analysed in the light of the relationships among awareness, the human condition, and human achievement. I accordingly feel that certain elements must be taken into consideration.

In every historical period and in every social system a code of values is objectively instituted whereby the members of society relate to nature, society and themselves and evaluate their aspirations, idelas, behavior and individual and collective powers. The efforts to harmonise people's relationships with the sets of values and with the socioeconomic, political and cultural systems in which they live actually involve the great problems presented by some of the vital aspects of social existence, namely the relationships between the individual and society and the social integration of the individual as a process upon which both the fulfillment of the personality and the formation and development of society depend.

When we consider what we commonly call the human condition and its fulfillment it is clear that no set of values or world outlook favors the proper implementation of that process except those based on the achievements of science and technological development, the gains of human knowledge and culture in general, and confidence in them.

In this connection it is also important to consider the fact that the process of human fulfillment has both an objective and a subjective character. It depends not only upon the way social integration is effected, especially in the fields of labor and production of all categories of goods and services (material and cultural) in keeping with the given historical and social needs and requirements, but also upon the extent to which the society favors development of the individual's personal identity and personality so that each of its members can function both as an active subject purposefully and creatively participating in the efforts toward social development, and as a beneficiary of his personal and collective accomplishments capable of proposing his feasible goals, aspirations and ideals with historical-objective justification. In this sense the process of developing the personality is both objective and subjective, being determined by the social structure and level of socioeconomic development but also by people's perception of the objective trends of this process, which is affected by the particular evolution of each social system and by the conformity of the efforts toward human fulfillment to the trends of that evolution.

Accordingly the formation of a new and consistently scientific view of the world and life first requires revolutionary reform of society, new relations among the social groups and categories and among individuals as well, and change of the social structures in favor of the processes of social leveling as a basis for higher levels of human fulfillment on the scale of the whole social system and all its members. And such redical changes in the nature of society and its structures occur in the world of today only with the transition to socialism, to a society that creates the objective socioeconomic basis for human disalienation and especially religious disalienation and develops the objective foundations for advanced revolutionary swareness on the basis of the most productive gains of science and human knowledge in general.

Formation and development of a new awareness freed of the mishaps of religious awareness require the action of many factors, among which we mention educational work properly speaking, progressively higher standards of development of the meterial individual and social living conditions, and creation of working and living conditions likely to stimulate the creative resources and development of the personality.

OCTAVIAN NISTOR: Our period bears out the historical and dialectical materialist principle that liberation of the masses from any form of mental enslavement or alienation, especially the religious ones, first requires liberation of society from oppression and exploitation and formation of new social relations. In Romania a new awareness has been formed and is being developed on the basis of the new social existence, namely socialist awareness, which includes the lay, atheist aspect among its chief characteristics. Considerable changes have been made in people's thinking and attitudes, manifested in the liberation of a large part of the population from the influence of religious ideas and practices and in the growth of religious indifference and skepticism about the postulates of religion. The studies made accordingly show the curtailment of religious belief. Among its components the cognitive one especially but also the behavioral one are steadily declining. Some religious dogmas in patent contradiction with contemporary experience are disappearing. Appreciable changes are also found in the awareness of the believers, as their religious representatives coexist with the lay ones. Moreover the new society's set of values is increasingly influential. But this process is not to be interpreted in a simplistic, quantitative way but must be understood dialectically as a contradictory and protracted process not without periods of partial reversibility and instances of recrudescence due to the self-perpetuating character of the religious ideas and their adaptability to certain social-historical conditions.

More Efficient Methods of Scientific-Materialist Education

ION TUDOSESCU: The RCP has based its policy on religion upon the specific-historical approach to the religious phenomenon, theoretically and methodologically. The originality of the views of the RCP and its secretary general and the consistency of their actions concerning the ways and means of accentuating religious disalienation and attenuating the religious adherence of the members of society must be emphatically brought out in order to explain the results so far and especially to find more and more efficient ways and means of scientific-materialist and revolutionary-humanist education. As the party secretary general said, revolutionary social reform is not over but continues to be developed according to the aims and requirements of each historical stage. A vital part in this process is played by structural innovations in awareness and in the individual's fulfillment in keeping with his highest aspirations. Formation of the new man with an advanced revolutionary socialist awareness necessarily requires complete religious disalienation and an extensive and sustained scientific-materialist and revolutionary-humanist educational effort.

ION OOIAN: Our discussion has quite rightly stressed the point that religion is not just an ideology and opposition to religion is not just an ideological opposition but also involves atheist practice. In the Marxist view religion is not subject to a "criticism of words" but to a criticism of acts and practice.

I accordingly consider it the task of the researchers in this field to analyse the religious phenomenon in greater depth on various levels and in its real, complete and contradictory evolution. But while we continue to use such classical themes as "Religion is opium for the people" to be sure, we cannot confine ourselves to that aspect. Therefore I think a comprehensive, multilateral treatment of the religious phenomenon and its implications is necessary.

^{*}Even technical works try at times to treat religion and its problems solely in generalities.

Accordingly I believe atheism has to be primarily a conclusion and not just a presise of scientific-materialist education, since it is to follow from this comprehensive scientific treatment. But atheism does not mean a mere negation as its etymology indicates (a-theism), or a destructive approach alone, but also a constructive one, namely a human design not involve g the religious aspect or religious transcendence in the making of man. In this sense atheism is humanism. Han's fulfillment is not subordinated to any other plan (divine) but follows from the new concept of man itself.

OCTAVIAN NISTOR: Atheism is indeed discussed primarily by its constructive aspect of promoting the human in man. It not merely a theoretical-ideological system but a system of life and work. Therefore I think it is very interesting and useful to study the contemporary relifious phenomenon from the axiological standpoint. Some technological works often display a tendency to limit criticism of religious ideas to their epistemological aspects. Religion is often interpreted solely as a false, distorted, fantastic and illusory reflection of reality and is accordingly reduced to the true-false relationship. But as it has been said, religion is also a total conception of the world and man's destiny, and as such religions institute a set of values of their own, form convictions and ideals, and determine attitudes and behavior. Therefore religion is not only a false body of knowledge but also a false awareness. As Harx said, it is "a fantastic fulfillment of human nature, because human nature has no true reality."

Therefore the philosophical viewpoint is indispensable in making any general criticism of religion. In this connection, as we well know, the RCP's stand on religious ideology is essentially reflected in its emphasis on the radical and irreducible contrast between the revolutionary world outlook and any religious view, a multilateral contrast not only ontological and epistemological but also axiological, anthropological and praxiological.

We must reflect this basic stand better in scientific-materialist educational work. Actually, while we are succeeding in being more and more convincing on the ontological and epistemological levels, relying primarily on scientific data that provide solid arguments to explain the world on its own principles and to point out the unlimited possibilities of human knowledge, I feel the axiological and anthropological aspects are being underemphasised. Accordingly some important questions concerning the conflict between the socialist set of values and the religious one are still insufficiently clarified, as well as criticism of mystical conceptions from the positions of Marxist anthropology and revolutionary socialist humanism. As we know Marxist philosophy has made a major contribution to the scientific clarification of the problem of man and his condition in the world. The need of this approach is particularly acute when some contemporary theologians are trying to "update" the religious message, to address it to the inlividual, and to "humanise" religion with a priority on renovating religious axiology and anthropology.

GEORGETA FLOREA: In general the Romanian literature has taken some important foreward steps in recent years in discussing questions of atheism. It has become increasingly clear that for Marxist philosophy, for scientific socialism, and for the ideology of the communist and workers parties atheism does not mean, as it has already been pointed out, a mere denial of God's existence but primarily the advancement of man. It is also significant that in the RCP's

view atheism has been enriched with the idea of revolutionary atheism, which involves not only theoretical discussion of the existence or nonexistence of God but primarily practical atheism which actually means subordination of the fight against religion and religious ideology to the aims of socialist and communist construction.

OCTAVIAN CHETAN: I would also say that atheism is indeed not just a popularising demial or mere negation but a demial that is also constructive. At the same time I do not think that by emphasising its positive, constructive aspect alone we can omit or neglect one of its main features, namely its militant, critical and candid character. Of course atheism is also reconstruction of the human, but always a reconstruction critically compared to a certain general creationist and mystical view of the world.

In general the theologians reject the concept of an ideology of religion and the view that religion is also an ideology. They maintain that religion as a revealed doctrine is "outside of" ideological disputes and therefore criticism of religion as an ideology must be a "false way," whereas actually that way so far from being false is quite real and justified. Religion involves in its doctrine direct references not only to an imaginary supreme Divinity but also to the social-human realities, proposing their conservation or change. The social doctrine of Christianity, for example, is its ideological part par excellence. Therefore in forming a nonreligious attitude it is necessary to keep allowing for changes in the particular position of religion, for new social implications of the religious phenomenon, and for shifts of emphasis in religion's attitude toward the relationships between the individual and nature, between individuals, and between the individual and the community.

In general in our times the theologians are no longer raising objections to the most recent and celebrated scientific advances but primarily to the conclusions drawn by the scientists and materialist philosophers from them. They are concentrating today on questions of morality, and all actions and expressions of contemporary Christian theology are ultimately based on pleas for a Christian, religious morality.

The effort to promote religious morality is a priority of the various Christian sects, old or new, and the main subject of current religious propaganda, which is particularly concerned with religious indoctrination of youth. In fact, all the Christian sects are concerned with this transmission of the "Christian message" to future generations. But some emphasize organization of special courses to instruct youths, while others concentrate on attracting children to religious services in the hope that they will inoculate them with religious ideas through their powp and distinctive atmosphere. But even in the religious propaganda beamed at youth the chief aim of indoctrination is not so much to distort scientific advances but primarily to exalt religious morality and its characteristic view of man's destiny. Therefore in the effort to combat religious idealogy and its mystical, obscurantist expressions I think it is necessay to keep emphasising both their refutation by the scientific data and treatment of questions of morality from the positions of advanced, historical and dialectical materialist and revolutionary philosophy.

FLORIN GEORGESCU: I should like to stress here the role of philosophy in the process of liberation from religion, if only for the reason that that process

begins with materialist philosophy. Of course the aims of scientific-materialist education call for the contribution of advanced scientific, moral, artistic and political values, and a person's mastery and promotion of them is essential to his liberation from the prejudices of the past. But experience tells us that an educational effort within the limits of the said values cannot always produce the desired result without the aid of philosophy. Those values, secular in nature and acquired by the subject, can be structured to meet the demands of religious awareness if he professes belief in the supernatural. Therefore there can be a religious artist, a religious scientist, or a fighter for progressive political aims who has religious convictions. But such a situation is out of the question if the subject has acquired the materialist conception. A religious materialist would be nonsense.

ION TUDOSESCU: The comment that people are either believers or nonbelievers requires more detailed explanation from the standpoint of our discussion. In general people need some convictions, or a credo, without which they cannot be personalised or socially integrated, and therefore they cannot aim for or aspire to higher levels of human fulfillment. It should be mentioned that atheists are not invariably people without "belief." As contrasted with the traditional nihilist, the atheist with an advanced awareness is not without ideals. He is a "believer" although not in the religious sense but in the sense of a person guided by certain convictions and armed with a firm belief in himself, in socialism, and in a society that personalizes him and enables him to attain his aspirations. The atheist conviction is based on the historical and dialectical materialist view of the world and life and is therefore strongly value centered, and it has nothing in common with nihilism in regard to values. Institution of the model of atheism with which revolutionary ideology operates accordingly requires an intensive process of value construction and a militant revolutionary attitude of the individual toward life, society and himself.

OCTAVIAN NISTOR: That would require us to distinguish between rational and irrational belief.

GEORGETA FLOREA: I am interested in the idea advanced here because the growing religious indifference or even devaluation of religious ideology is not the same as absence of the need of belief. The fact is unanimously recognised that man needs belief and that without it he would be impoverished, would act as an automaton, and would not count himself to action with his entire subjectivity. In this sense belief is not regarded, as some have said, as a mystical manifestation of a religious nature, since man can also have rational beliefs. Constructive belief based on data critically filtered by reason is the purposeful reflection of man's adherence to the facts of the disciplines he has learned and tested in practical experience.

FIORIN GRORGESCU: Concerning the question of belief, I do not think we can make any realistic explanations or interpretations without allowing for the nature of the human being and the fact that he is a presence and a projection into the future. In one way or another belief depends on projections and an ideal, which may be a near or remote or tangible or intangible ideal. By its very nature an ideal implies the feeling of confidence in oneself and in one's neighbors, so that belief is a natural fact inherent in the human condition. A man without belief would be an absurdity.

We are now discussing not belief as a subjective act or an individual feeling but its manifestation as a fact of collective sourcess. For it should be said that men has always dreamed of a better life. And in dreaming, he could not disbelieve that he would attain it or, in other words, he could not disbelieve the dream of it. Concerning the old awareness whereby men deceived himself, Marx and Engels said, "For us, communism is not a state to be created or an ideal by which reality will be guided. We call communism the real movement that does amy with the present state." This time the future is not projected fantastically but in a scientific, advance way, because it is based on reality. The future follows from the present, to be instituted on the basis of the objective lame, which require man's active, purposeful intervention. Enowledge of the objective laws and of social determinism establishes the certainty that the projection will become a reality. Progress toward the goal based on knowledge accordingly requires belief, the conviction that the efforts made will take the form of results giving life to the plans. As a form of collective asserences, rational belief appears as self-assurance and confidence in the possibility of overcoming any difficulties. It takes the form of hope for the better, it is reflected in consistency of thought and action, and it constitutes a mobilising factor. Moreover some values cannot be fulfilled unless the subjects show belief. The nation and the people's aspirations must be served with belief. The idea that every effort must be made to bring society up to new and higher levels of development has the value of a credo.

ION TUDOSESCU: In the present process of human fulfillment, desacralisation operates in connection with the aspiration to fulfill the ideals. Religious desacrelisation has an important place in this context because the general process of human fulfillment and disalienation critically depends on it, mentally and morally. I would emphasise this process of desacralisation of values and securlarisation of myths in the present area of cultural values because it is in the area of those relationships that we are seeing today some interventions in order to maintain religion in the current typology of forms of culture. Visspoints and options are being formulated in favor of preserving some religious ideas and beliefs because it is believed that renouncing religion would implicitly mean renouncing the ethnic values, the traditional fund of values of the contemporary cultural structure. I do not think such views are based so much upon ideological reasons foreign to the historical and dialectical materialist view of the world and life or axiological conditioning conflicting with revolutionary ideology as they are primarily upon misinterpretation of the axiological substance of the myths and accordingly upon ignorance of the real relationships between myth and religion and between myth and culture.

I think that while the religious values are being eliminated from the sets of values of contemporary cultures, we must proceed to secularise and not to desacralise the myths on the basis of which they are built, since it is known, among other things, that the myths have an existential and historical determination with the force of examples. Of course it cannot be a matter of myths of all kinds. In no case do I mean religious myths, but those with a pronounced ethnic and ethical origin whose influence is decisive in shaping the cultural style and models of the cultures (their sources).

ION GOIAN: In the course of dynamic analysis of the religious phenomenon in today's world it was mentioned, and it should be stressed, that we are seeing a process of secularisation. Actually contemporary society, by virtue of its very structures, is departing more and more from religious values and opting more and more consistently for secular ones. This idea should be supplemented with the fact that secularization is an extremely complicated process. The question whether secularization involves repudiation of any sacred mythical values was brought up before in the discussion. If we can speak of a nonreligious sacred, (To a patriot, his country and culture are absolutely sacred), then secularization involves a number of definitions that must be examined.

I would say here that secularisation is in some contrast with another phenomenon that has not been sufficiently investigated but which is frequently mentioned, namely "religious creativeness." Although actually religion is in a global decline, I believe instances of "religious creativeness" appear in various partial contexts. As we know, the Romanian scholar Mircea Eliade has studied some of them. They occur, for example, in the appearance of new religious, pseudoreligious or parareligious movements. I would include here the appearance of many new sects that are not authentic religious movements but movements which manipulate the individual under a religious pretext and which shift from religious practices to other practices that have nothing in common with traditional religious ones. These movements also harbor destructive trends involving abandonment of any set of values.

I am also interested in questions of the "new alliances" between religion and various fields of contemporary culture and civilisation. For example a "new alliance" is being concluded between "liberation theology" and certain political, cultural or other phenomena, including contemporary schools of idealist philosophy such as the contemporary personalism, for example, which treats problems of the person in close connection with religious problems. This requires a careful in-depth investigation of the religious phenomenon to redefine the problems of the person in terms of dialectical-materialist, humanist thought, so that it will not become necessary to relate the person to divinity. In other words, I consider it a matter of thorough and complete substantiation of an anthropology on a Marxist basis that will proceed consistently from the real problems of contemporary man, an anthropology that will surpass the declarative level and stage and become an operational anthropology.

ION TUDOSESCU: I would like to go back to some questions that we have raised together in the course of the discussion which I consider worthy of attention not only from the theoretical standpoint but also from that of the methodology of scientific-materialist education. Marx realized that actually God arose from man's need to make a mirror in which to view himself in order to orient himself in terms of values. Actually man feels the need to be reflected in something. But he did not recognise hisself in the image in the mirror, but someone else, to whom he attributed demiurgic powers. He accordingly imagined his God out of his need of axiological support, attributing to Him the function of judge of his deeds and, in keeping with the reality of that in his awareness, he began to regulate his behavior and actions. Of course when God was dethroned from people's summeness the need of a reflection or a frame of reference did not disappear. The man of today needs a court of evaluation just as he always did. The problem is that there is no longer a supernatural being in that mirror, but himself, and man has to be related to himself and to his human and humanising nature. Therefore we wast find the means of focusing man's frame of reference and critical judgment upon himself in the new kind of value structure and in the advanced revolutionary ideals that are being promoted more and more effectively in Romanian

socialist, society. Let us help man see himself as the desiurge and as a point of axiological reference. I think that is actually one of the major aims of scientific-materialist and revolutionary-immenist education.

In connection with man's need of a reflection or reference to himself, I think more attention must be given to in-depth study of the problems of what could be called "serving the individual" by the community. Religion has always assumed the role of serving man as an individual and of serving his interests. It is easy to determine how religion has performed, or rather not performed, this service.

Hen as a living being has the characteristic of always delimiting his interests specifically within the social group to which he belongs. This can result in personal difficulties, unpredictable at times, in the process of disalienation and especially religious disalienation. Faced with such difficulties, some go into an axiological crisis. If there is no intervention exactly when they are in a state of axiological confusion, they may fall pray to religious alienation. Therefore it is necessary always to act in such a way that the contradictions of real life will not be overlooked and to intervene very carefully in order to bring those people out of such an axiological crisis.

I accordingly feel that more importance should be attached to the individual's particular problems in the process of scientific-materialist and revolutionary-humanist education. It is also necessary to operate differently according to age groups and social and occupational groups and to consider the degree of religious adherence, the cultural background of the social group, and the traditional attitudes. Meanwhile there must be greater concern for the moral and muntal aspects of the individual's life and for his mode of thought and axiological orientation.

STEFAN COSTEA: Any discussion of education in general or of scientific-materialist education in particular actually refers to the whole social process of using the human resources we have in accordance with the Romanian social ideal (a new kind of society, more just, better and more humane) and with the distinctive historical, national and cultural characteristics of Romania and its people. From this standpoint and these positions, I think we must also take up the extremely complicated problems of the effort to form the consistently scientific view of the world and life as a component part of the general process of exploiting the human resources but one which naturally has a series of characteristic features. I would bring up only a few of those in the discussion.

When it is a matter of the processes of transmission and assimilation of the moral values, I consider it essential to realise that we are in an area of great depth and complexity which is on the level of the foundations of the personality and which requires sustained efforts toward transmission and assimilation of the moral values and transition from moral knowledge to moral convictions, or to interiorisation of the moral principles and standards, and from the latter to formation and development of moral attitudes, habits and behavior.

It is accordingly apparent that in the field of scientific-materialist education we have to deal with extremely complicated problems and with various situations and aspects that can be fully resolved only by exploiting, with competence and skill, the gains of the natural and technical sciences as well as those of the

revolutionary-humanist education both as a process of religious disalienation and as a broader, formative process of human fulfillment and of transition from living predominantly in need to living predominantly in freedom, which is historically equivalent to transition from socialism to communism.

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